

From *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume 12 (New York, 2005):
Chapter 14, "The Sassanians," by Richard N. Frye;
Chapter 15, "Armenia and the Eastern Marches," by C. S. Lightfoot; and
Chapter 16, "The Arabs and the Desert Peoples," by Maurice Sartre.

CHAPTER 14

THE SASSANIANS

RICHARD N. FRYE

I. INTRODUCTION

The circumstances of the last years of Parthian rule and the rise of the Sassanians are not well known because of scanty and conflicting information in our sources.¹ Unfortunately the second century of our era in the east is especially dark even though it was a time of great change from the past. In

¹ The principal sources for the early period of Sassanian history are: GREEK: Agathias, Cassius Dio, Malalas; LATIN: Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA); ARABIC: Tabari, Tha'alibi, Ghurar, Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh, Ibn Qutaiba, Dinawari, Mas'udi; PERSIAN: Firdosi, Bal'ami, *Fars nameh*; ARMENIAN: Agathangelos, Moses of Chorene; SYRIAC: Chronicle of Edessa, Chronicle of Arbela, Elias of Nisibis, Michael the Syrian, Acts of the Martyrs. The inscriptions of Shapur (Greek, Parthian and Middle Persian), and Narseh (Parthian and Middle Persian) are prime sources, whereas all of the literary sources are both fragmentary and at times contradictory. Details of selected editions and translations are as follows:

Sassanian inscriptions: These may be found in Back (1978), to which may be added Humbach and Skjaervø, *Paikuli* (vol. III.1 has text and English translation, III.2 the commentary). The *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (ŠKZ) have recently been re-edited in the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III.1.1 (Huyse, ŠKZ, 2 vols. including German translation). The Middle Persian *Karnamak* of Ardashir (Antia (1900)) is a romantic account of the founder of the dynasty, and has as much validity as Xenophon on Cyrus. A Middle Persian geography has been translated by Markwart (1931).

Classical writings: Published in the Teubner or Loeb series and the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG), these include Cassius Dio, Herodian, Dexippus (FGH II.A, no. 100), and, for the wars between Romans and Persians, 'Trebellius Polio' on Valerian, etc. in the SHA.

Less detailed later sources include: Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (CSEL xxvii); Eusebius' *Chronicle* (Helm 1984) and *Ecclesiastical History*; S. Aurelius Victor; and Petrus Patricius (FHG IV.184–9). Agathias (Keydell 1967), although later, has information about the early Sassanians. Later classical writers, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and the Byzantine historians, are concerned with later periods of Sassanian history.

Armenian sources in translation: all are late but have items about the early Sassanians, Agathangelos (Thomson 1976), Moses of Chorene (Thomson 1978). Faustus of Byzantium has several details but is unreliable (Langlois 1867–9).

Syriac sources in translation: *The Chronicle of Arbela* (Sachau 1915) has information on the rise of the Sassanians not found elsewhere, but the text is suspect as a forgery. The Acts of the Christian Martyrs also has material not found elsewhere: cf. Hoffmann (1880) and Braun (1915).

Arabic and Persian sources: Tabari's history is the primary source, which later authors copied (trans. Nöldeke 1879). Other sources for various items may be found in the secondary writings below. Selected texts in English translation on the Roman–Persian wars of the period, can be found in Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*; cf. French translations in Gagé (1964).

Secondary sources: Christensen (1944) is the standard work, also Frye, *Iran* (HAW III.7), and Yarshater, *CHI* III. Further bibliographies will be found in these volumes.



Map 6 The Sassanian empire

the realm of native written sources alone, for example, we have inscriptions from the middle Parthian period dating from the first century of our era in Nisa (present Turkmenistan) and Avroman (in Kurdistan) which have been characterized as written in degenerate Aramaic, whereas in the third century the Parthian versions of inscriptions of early Sassanian rulers can be read only as Parthian. This is an indication of a change from a continuation of the past to a new world, which is further suggested by the change from a 'feudal' Parthian state to a centralized Sassanian empire. Furthermore, the state of Zoroastrianism under the Parthians as a loosely organized company of priests contrasts sharply with the hierarchically formed state church of the Sassanians. Briefly, the later Parthian age may be characterized roughly as a time of many semi-independent principalities, varieties of religious expression and flourishing trading centres, such as Petra, Palmyra, Hatra and Spasinou Charax on trade routes leading to the Persian gulf and India. The Sassanian empire, on the other hand, had a centralized court and bureaucracy with a state church organization paralleling the hierarchy of the state, and the trading centres, especially the 'caravan cities' as Rostovtzeff called them, were destroyed or absorbed into either the Roman or Sassanian empires.

The Romans, however, in 193 only saw a weak Parthian state whose vassal kingdoms were almost as powerful as, and at times even more dangerous than, the Parthians themselves. Armenia was a perennial source of conflict between the two great powers, but internal wars between rival claimants to the throne of Augustus caused more trouble for the Romans than corresponding conflicts among Parthian pretenders to the throne of Arsaces. The Syrian desert provided an effective barrier between the Roman and Parthian domains but in the north the area between the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers remained a theatre of warfare, and the advance and retreat of boundaries throughout the second and third centuries dominate our history of relations between the two states. To understand better those relations we should ask what was happening in the Roman east in the last thirty years of Parthian rule.

Seen from the east the expansion of the Roman empire by annexation of allied or client kingdoms was a continuing threat to the independence of those peoples not yet under Roman sway. In 106 the Nabataean kingdom was incorporated into the Roman Provincia Arabia and this was followed by Trajan's conquests in the east with the formation of several provinces including Mesopotamia. This new arrangement of provinces and boundaries seems to have had a turbulent existence with varying fortunes until the time of Septimius Severus. The existence of pro- and anti-Roman factions in the cities of the Roman east is attested by classical sources, and those who were unhappy with Roman rule frequently looked to the Parthians for support. The Parthians, however, were not in control of all their provinces and

client states at the end of the second century, and the capture of Ctesiphon, their capital, by Septimius Severus in 197 boded ill for all of the enemies of Rome. The rise of a new power in Fars province (ancient Persis) changed the picture, however, and the Romans were faced with unforeseen and additional problems on their eastern frontier. The main danger came from an energetic ruler with expansionist aims, Ardashir son of Papak, a local ruler in Persis or Fars province.

II. THE EARLY SASSANIANS

The rise of the Sassanians is better documented than subsequent history, but even so there are conflicting versions of the origin of Ardashir. The native, Persian tradition, as found in a Middle Persian book called the *Karnamak* (Book of Deeds) of Ardashir son of Papak and in the eleventh-century *Shahname* (Book of Kings) of Firdosi, as well as a scurrilous adaption of this story by Agathias, has Sassan, after whom the dynasty was named, as the real father of Ardashir and husband of Papak's daughter, the mother of Ardashir. When we turn to the *Res Gestae* of Shapur, son and successor of Ardashir, an inscription in three languages, Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek, on an ancient stone structure at Naqsh-e Rostam, called today the Ka'ba of Zoroaster, we find Papak, Ardashir and Shapur mentioned in succession with their important courtiers, but Sassan appears only with the title of 'lord,' whereas Papak is a king, while both Ardashir and his son hold the title 'king of kings'. The difference between these last two is only that Ardashir is called king of kings of Iran, whereas Shapur has 'Iran and Aniran' (non-Iran). This indicates the growing power and domains of the successive rulers, but Sassan is mentioned apart and not as the father of Papak, as the ninth-century Arabic history of Tabari has it. Only here, and in later sources which copy Tabari's history, do we find mention of Sassan as the father of Papak. Normally one would suppose that Sassan was the eponymous ancestor of the dynasty, but then we should explain the curious story that he married Papak's daughter and was the father of Ardashir. There seems to be no propagandistic reason for inventing the story, and its existence is indeed enigmatic. One possible solution, however, is that Sassan was the real father of Ardashir but died when the latter was a child, so Papak adopted him and was his legal but not natural father. Another source, the Middle Persian text called the *Bundahishn* (ch. 35), claims that Sassan was the father-in-law of Papak which may fit better into information about relationships from Shapur's inscription. In that inscription Rudak is designated the mother of Ardashir and Mirdut is the mother of Shapur while Dinak, called 'queen of queens', is a daughter of Papak, hence a sister of Ardashir, and perhaps his wife according to Zoroastrian next-of-kin marriage practice. In any case, there is a problem about the origin of

Ardashir and his relationship to Sassan and whether he was a natural or adopted son of Papak.

In Tabari and the sources which follow his work, as well as in the Paikuli inscription of Narses, a son of Papak called Shapur is mentioned as his successor. Tabari further says that Ardashir revolted against Shapur, whereupon the latter marched against him but was killed in an accident presumably at the ruins of Persepolis. Unfortunately the context of the inscription of Paikuli in which king Shapur appears is unclear because of long lacunae. One may suggest that Narses, in that inscription, sought to compare his succession to the throne with that of his grandfather Ardashir. Just as Ardashir had succeeded Shapur, Narses may have contended that he should have succeeded Hormizd-Ardashir, whereas in fact Vahran I did. Otherwise there is no apparent reason for Narses to mention king Shapur, son of Papak, in his inscription, especially since no other inscription does mention him. The relationships between the early Sassanians – Sassan, Papak, Shapur and Ardashir – remain unclear.

Another inscription, in Middle Persian and Parthian, on a pillar in the city of Bishapur, Fars, is dated in three dates, the year 58 of some era, perhaps the declaration of independence of the Sassanians from the Parthians, corresponding to the year 40 of the fire of Ardashir and the year 24 of the fire of Shapur. By fire, presumably is meant the coronation or the beginning of the first year of rule of the sovereign when his royal fire was started. According to best estimates this would give the years 224 and 240 as the beginning of the reigns of Ardashir and Shapur, respectively. Another inscription in Middle Persian at Barm-e Dilak near Shiraz, which tells of the foundation of a fire temple by the master of ceremonies of the private quarters of Shapur, says that in the third year of the monarch's reign the Romans attacked the Persians and Parthians, which must refer to the campaign of the emperor Gordian in 243. So the date 240 should now be accepted for the accession of Shapur rather than one of the conflicting dates in Greek, Latin or Syriac sources, and this would place Ardashir's accession in 224. But even before that date we can reconstruct some of the background to his rise to power in the geographically homogeneous province of Fars in southern Iran with a reservoir of manpower.

The first capital of Ardashir in Fars most likely was at Firuzabad, then known as Gor, although later in the reign of Ardashir it received the name Ardashir-khwarreh 'the glory of A', probably in honour of his victories over the Parthians. Today the ruins of two palaces and two rock reliefs of Ardashir attest his attachment to the circular town and its surroundings. Here he built his power base and expanded control over neighbouring rulers in Fars until he felt strong enough to challenge the Parthians. In the first decades of the third century both Artabanus (MP Ardawan) and Vologaeses contested for supremacy, which probably allowed Ardashir to consolidate

his authority in the south with little or no interference from the Parthians. So the weakness of the Parthian state as well as internal strife enabled the Sassanians to prepare for a meeting with the Parthians for control of all of Iran.

As mentioned, another factor which aided the rise to supremacy of the Sassanians was the geography of Fars province which separated it from the rest of Iran by highlands to the north and a depression and desert to the east, with the Persian gulf to the west and south. It had a kind of self-contained geographical unity as well as sufficient manpower to give an ambitious ruler the means to conquer other parts of Iran not so favoured by geography and population concentration as Fars. How was Ardashir able to rally support for his plan to unite all of Iran under his rule?

The lack of sources hinders a reconstruction of the history of Iran, so we can only speculate on the propaganda employed by Ardashir to unite support behind him. According to Herodian and other authors² Ardashir proclaimed the restoration of the empire of the Achaemenids, but on the Iranian side this intention is nowhere attested, and it can have been only a vague memory if such an idea existed at all – for later Iranian tradition, as recorded in Arabic and New Persian books, has no mention of the Achaemenids and the name Cyrus is completely forgotten.

It is clear that Ardashir had to subdue many local rulers in Fars, as the legendary *Karnamak* or 'Book of Deeds' of Ardashir describes, although one can place no faith in the historicity of various episodes in this work. It seems certain, however, that over ten years were spent by Ardashir in consolidating his power in Fars. It was probably only when he moved against local rulers outside of Fars that he roused the ire of the Parthians to the north of the province. One can only speculate about the relations between Artabanus and Vologaeses, both of whom struck coins which are the sole indications of a division of power and authority between two Parthian rulers. From the findspots of coins one might conclude that Vologaeses held sway in parts of Mesopotamia while Artabanus ruled in Media and northern Iran. Since there is no mention of conflict between Ardashir and Vologaeses in eastern sources, it is possible that the latter had been defeated by Artabanus or lost power before Artabanus met Ardashir in combat.

It is uncertain whether the two sides fought a number of battles of which only the last one was decisive, or there was only one battle of Hormizdagan which Artabanus lost as well as his life. The location of the battle is unknown, although attempts have been made to identify it as a site in Media. In any case, we may assume that after that battle Ardashir was proclaimed king of kings of Iran, as his title in inscriptions appears, and afterwards a ceremony was held in which his royal fire was kindled,

² Herod. vi.2.2 and Dio, lxxx.4.

perhaps in a fire temple dedicated to the goddess Anahita in Istakhr near the ruins of Persepolis. Since distinctive crowns appear on the coins or rock reliefs of the Sassanian rulers, we may assume that the ceremony included a crowning of the king and this was probably the year 224 for Ardashir.

After the death of Artabanus most of the Parthian great lords surrendered to Ardashir, although there may have been some local skirmishes to secure their allegiance. Members of the great families such as the Karen and Suren were brought to the court of Ardashir and members of the family of Ardashir were then appointed kings of various provinces. Although they held the titles of king they really served as governors on behalf of the centralized government instituted by Ardashir. Only in Armenia did an Arsacid ruler of the fallen Parthian dynasty maintain both his independence from and opposition to the Sassanians. One can only speculate about the extent of opposition to the establishment of Sassanian hegemony over Iran and Mesopotamia, but Ardashir in a few years had consolidated his power and was strong enough to move against the Kushans in the east and the Romans in the west not long after his accession.

All we know about early Sassanian conquests in the east is a notice in Tabari that the king of the Kushans submitted to Ardashir, and in the inscription *ŠKZ* we find the inclusion of the realm of the Kushans, 'extending to the borders of Peshawar, Sogdiana and Kashgar (or Kesh, mod. Sharizabz, Uzbekistan)', in the empire of Shapur I, son of Ardashir. The dates of any battles and the submission of the Kushans are unknown, but, since we do know that the Kushans ruled extensively on the sub-continent of India, one may presume that only a western kingdom of the Kushans came under some sort of Sassanian suzerainty. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the Sassanians always had an eastern frontier which caused them as much concern as their western marches against the Romans, although the latter were considered the more powerful adversary.

Ardashir not only defeated local rulers but, unlike the Parthians who usually left them on their thrones as clients or vassals, the Sassanian ruler removed many of them and appointed members of his family as his lieutenants. In the *ŠKZ* inscription there was an Ardashir king of Merv, another Sassanian king of Kirman and still a third Ardashir king of the Sakas all under Ardashir king of kings. Presumably they were members of the extended royal family of the Sassanians. Under Shapur the court appears to have become more centralized as well as expanded in size and parallel to the state went an organization of the Zoroastrian church. Before examining the internal problems of the Sassanian empire, however, a survey of the wars with Rome during the third century will set any internal history in a larger context, since the Iranians were much influenced by their western neighbours.

It seems that Ardashir, after conquests on the Iranian plateau and in the east, turned his attention to the Roman frontier where his first goals were the caravan oasis fortress of Hatra and the city of Nisibis to the north of the former. The date of this campaign is uncertain, but a time of about 230 appears likely. Ardashir was unable to capture either place, but his troops raided to the west of both. The new young Roman emperor, Severus Alexander, sought peace but apparently was rebuffed so he led an army to the east in 231 and the following year counter-attacked with three army divisions, one advancing into Armenia, one to the south along the Euphrates and the middle one with the emperor at its head to Singara. According to Herodian³ the southern column was defeated and the entire expedition was abandoned after which Hatra requested and received a Roman garrison inside its walls. Under a new emperor Maximinus Thrax, the Romans were on the defensive and Ardashir again invaded Roman territory, capturing Nisibis and Carrhae (or Harran) in 237 and 238. In 240 Hatra fell to the Sassanians and shortly afterwards Shapur succeeded his father. Edessa and Dura Europus, as well as other towns, remained in Roman hands. Ardashir had to face another Roman emperor Gordian III who opened hostilities with an advance in 242 into Mesopotamia where Carrhae, Singara, Nisibis and other towns came again under Roman suzerainty. The architect of Roman success was the praetorian prefect Timesitheus, father-in-law of Gordian, but he died either accidentally or of sickness and Gordian met Shapur in a battle at Misiche (Massice or MP *mšyk*) in 244, where he too perished and was succeeded by Philip the Arabian who himself had succeeded Timesitheus. Shapur received 500,000 *denarii* as ransom for Roman prisoners and peace was established between the two powers while the site of the victory was renamed Perozshapur, 'Shapur's victory'. From all sources it does not seem that the Romans ceded any territory to Shapur and rather the *status quo* was maintained for a number of years.

Shapur, in his inscription, says that, because the Roman Caesar lied and did wrong to Armenia, Shapur attacked the empire. The date of this second war is uncertain but it was probably almost a decade after the death of Gordian. During that period we may presume that Shapur not only consolidated his empire, perhaps with further conquests in the east but most likely he also fought against the Armenians. In spite of confusion in our sources (both Greek and Armenian but no Persian sources), we may suggest the following scenario. Chosroes, king of Armenia, was assassinated and the Sassanian ruler took advantage of that event to annex Armenia, the dates of which are unknown but *c.* 251. Then Tiridates, son of the dead king, fled to Roman territory and this may have been the *casus belli* which

³ Herod. vi.2–6.

Shapur used to justify his attack about the year 252. He captured several towns and then destroyed a Roman army of 60,000 men at Barbalissus (Balis) on the large bend of the Euphrates to the north. After this victory the Sassanian army seems to have split into several parts, raiding from Hierapolis (Manbij) and many towns were pillaged. This campaign of Shapur probably lasted several years, but the sequence of events is much disputed. Antioch, the Roman capital of the east, was captured twice by the Sassanians, but we do not know the date of the conquests, either 253 or 256 and 260 after the capture of Valerian in Shapur's third campaign. Dura Europus was captured by the Persians in 256, in which year Demetrianos, Christian patriarch of Antioch, was led into captivity by the Persians and settled in a new town in Khuzistan called later Gundeshapur. These two events suggest that Antioch was taken in 256 rather than 253, although numismatic evidence would favour the latter date. Conceivably, the city was taken three times, but we do not know.

In any case, the entire period was one of war and pillage in Syria, Cappadocia and Cilicia, with the Romans on the defensive. In his inscription the list of cities captured by Shapur indicates the routes followed by his armies, although problems of identification of sites exist which have been much discussed. The sequence of events in the third campaign of Shapur is also uncertain, but again the best guess is that Shapur was besieging Edessa and Carrhae when the emperor Valerian with 70,000 men met the Persians in battle near Edessa. Valerian and his officers probably sought to make peace with Shapur but were captured and, together with others captured in the localities seized by the Persians, were brought as prisoners and settled in Sassanian domains. After the capture of Valerian, probably in 260, many towns in Roman territory were taken by the Sassanians, including again Antioch.

The unexampled capture of a Roman emperor and Shapur's victories over other emperors were commemorated in five extant stone carvings in Fars province. But Shapur did not reap the fruits of his conquests in the west with the weakness of the Roman empire. Rather it was Odenathus, the ruler of the Roman client oasis state of Palmyra, who expanded his domains. A question at once arises, why the far-reaching conquests of Shapur did not last and how a local ruler could defeat the Sassanians who had just secured such a resounding victory over the Romans. The answer to this is probably that Shapur had no intention of re-establishing the boundaries of the Achaemenid empire, as some in the Roman empire may have thought, because first Shapur probably did not know about the Achaemenids, and second he was primarily interested in booty and prisoners, not in permanent conquest. Furthermore, one should not underestimate the wealth and power of Palmyra, last of the 'caravan cities' of the Near East. Hatra, Charax in Mesene and the Nabataeans had succumbed to the two great empires,

but Palmyra had grown richer than previously without much competition. Whether Odenathus had tried to come to some accommodation with Shapur but had been rebuffed, as some sources suggest, is uncertain, but it is plausible. Furthermore, Odenathus became the defender of Roman interests, and it probably was he who reconquered Carrhae and Nisibis from the Persians. It appears that the Persians had little desire to try to repeat Shapur's successful campaigns, or they may have been occupied in the eastern part of their realm, although there is no information about inner Sassanian affairs. Also after his campaigns in the west Shapur must have been satisfied as well as tired and, of course, aged. Although military actions are not recorded, they are not to be excluded, and the last years of Shapur's reign seem to have been relatively peaceful for the Persians.

Likewise the reign of Hormizd-Ardashir, son of Shapur (c. 272–3), was not only short but presumably involved no wars against the Romans. The succession of Vahran I, however, was not universally accepted by all members of the royal family or aristocracy, for Narses, after his accession to the throne caused the name of Vahran I to be excised from a rock relief inscription in Bishapur and his own name substituted. Obviously Narses thought he should have succeeded to the throne instead of Vahran, and he must have had partisans. Vahran I ruled for three years, and we hear of no military actions against Rome, but Mani met his death in the last year of Vahran's rule who, unlike his grandfather Shapur, was hostile to this founder of a new religion. The accession of Vahran II, son of Vahran I, brought to the fore unrest among those Persians opposed to the Vahrans. Sometime during the reign of Vahran II his brother, or more likely a cousin, called Hormizd, revolted in the east and issued coins calling himself *shahan-shah*, 'king of kings'. This probably happened towards the end of Vahran II's rule, but problems must have beset the ruler from the outset, for the Roman emperor Carus took the opportunity to invade Sassanian territory. He advanced as far as Ctesiphon the capital in 283 when unexpectedly he died, and the Roman army retreated, leaving the situation between the two empires unclear since there is no evidence for a peace treaty between them. The revolt of Hormizd in the east probably was the reason why Vahran II sent presents to the new Roman emperor Diocletian in 288 and made some kind of an agreement with him. Definite information about this, however, is lacking, but Diocletian did restore king Tiridates, an Arsacid prince who had fled to Roman territory, over part of Armenia while Narses, a now elderly son of Shapur I, ruled most of Armenia on behalf of Vahran II. From the mention of Tiridates, king of Armenia, in the Paikuli inscription as a ruler who either came or sent an emissary to the accession of Narses in 293, one might tentatively conclude that some agreement had been made about rule over Armenia which enabled Narses to leave Armenia and secure his position as *shahanshah* of the Sassanian state. After consolidating his

rule, however, Narses invaded Armenia in 296 and again Tiridates fled to the Romans.

Since Diocletian was occupied in Egypt, he sent his Caesar Galerius against Narses who met the Romans and defeated them somewhere in upper Mesopotamia. Diocletian was not happy with the defeat of his Caesar, and he prepared for a counter-stroke. Galerius led one army into Armenia while Diocletian advanced into northern Mesopotamia. Narses, who had concentrated his army in Armenia, was surprised by Galerius and decisively defeated. Rich booty and prisoners, including Narses' queen Arsane, his sisters and children, fell into Galerius' hands although Narses himself escaped. How far the Romans pursued their defeated enemy is unknown, but Galerius, since he rejoined his Augustus Diocletian in Nisibis, and from an inscription on a triumphal arch in Thessalonica where he is called *Persicus Maximus, Armeniacus, Medicus* and *Adiabenicus*, might be assumed to have campaigned in Armenia and Media, as well as Adiabene which is next to the territory of Nisibis. In any case, according to the account given by Petrus Patricius,⁴ after lengthy negotiations and the exchange of ambassadors, Narses had to cede to the Romans all lands to the west of the Tigris river which lay north of present-day Mosul, and the river was declared to be the boundary between the two empires. Armenia with a restored king, Tiridates also received land in Atropatene and Azerbaijan, probably south of lake Urmia, as part of the settlement. Finally the town of Nisibis was designated as the sole place where trade between the two states was allowed, which meant that Nisibis officially was the only town where tolls were collected and border control was exercised. In exchange for the losses to the Sassanian empire Narses received back his family from their captivity in Antioch where the Romans had kept them.

Diocletian remained in the east after the conclusion of the peace, probably early in 299. For several years afterwards Diocletian restored and extended the *limes* system, and built forts or camps, in the newly conquered areas, and the army and border troops were also reorganized. Both this activity, as well as the advanced age of Narses, followed by the quiet reign of his son Hormizd II (302–9), kept peace between the two empires. The reign of Hormizd was followed by a very short one of Adurnarseh, apparently his son, who was removed from the throne by the nobility because of his cruelty, according to several sources. Then followed the long reign of Shapur II (309–79) who was under the tutelage of the nobility and clergy during the first thirty years of his reign. So peace between the Romans and Sassanians lasted for forty years from the time of Narses and Diocletian, until Shapur II opened hostilities about 337, but this is a later story and is beyond this volume.

⁴ Petrus Patricius, *fr.* 13 (*FHG* IV.188–9).

III. SASSANIAN RELATIONS WITH THE ROMANS

Although most scholars accept the assertions of several classical authors that Ardashir I and most of his successors sought to restore the Achaemenid empire in its fullest extent, as mentioned, there is no evidence that the Sassanians even knew about the Achaemenids. The Persians did have a mythological tradition of several ancient Iranian world empires, the last of which was brought to an end by Alexander the Great, but this 'history' had epic qualities. Even Seleucid and Parthian history was unclear, and it too was preserved in much the same epic style as the pre-Alexander period. Nonetheless, many institutions and features of Achaemenid rule were preserved or possibly even resuscitated by the Sassanians, who like the Achaemenids rose to power in Persis, modern Fars province. For example, the Achaemenid military institution of the élite corps called 'the immortals', seems to have been revived, if it did not continue in an attenuated form through the Parthian period, into Sassanian times.⁵ If anything had been preserved throughout the span of more than half a millennium between Alexander and the Sassanians, it would have been in Persis more than elsewhere in the land.

The Sassanians respected and feared the mighty Roman empire and continued to designate the later Byzantine state by the same name, while they did not differentiate between Romans and Greeks, although they knew that different peoples lived in the enemy state and served in its armies. The Romans were the enemy *par excellence* for the Sassanians, although at times eastern and northern nomadic peoples were more of a threat and more dangerous than their western neighbours. The Romans too learned to respect the Sassanians more than they had the weaker Parthians, especially in the period of decline of the latter in the second century. Embassies between the two powers were considered as equals between two imperial states, perhaps more so by the Persian than by the Roman side.

Before the arrival of the Romans and the Sassanians in the fertile crescent this rich and important area was dominated by small merchant states or 'caravan cities' which engendered a flourishing trade and prosperity in the entire region. The absorption of the western group of these states by the Romans, the Nabataean kingdom under Trajan in 106, Edessa by Caracalla in 214 and finally Palmyra conquered by Aurelian in 272 was matched by Sassanian actions in the east. Spasinou Charax at the head of the Persian gulf was conquered by Ardashir early in his reign, and the last of the 'caravan cities' Hatra was taken by him at the end of his rule in 240. The result of both the Roman and the Sassanian elimination of the small trading states in the Near East was a decline in commerce and, from a military point

⁵ Procopius, *Bella* 1.14.31.

of view, the dominance of a 'wall mentality' in both empires. The *limes* and the desert fortifications of Diocletian are well known but the Sassanian counterpart is less apparent. Just as the Romans, with their *limes* in Britain, on the Rhine and Danube, so the Sassanians constructed defensive walls on the edge of cultivated land facing the Syrian desert, in the Caucasus by Derbend, to the east of the Caspian Sea and in what is today western Afghanistan. The designation of Nisibis as the sole point of trade between the two empires was one fruit of this 'defensive' development. By the time of Constantine and Shapur II relations between the two states had settled into a stable pattern which was only interrupted by one side perceiving a weakness in the other and consequently attacking to add territory, usually in northern Mesopotamia or Armenia. The Persians for the most part were the aggressors since they considered much of the land added to the Roman empire in Parthian and early Sassanian times rightfully to belong to the Iranian sphere. Armenia, especially after its acceptance of Christianity, was continually an area of contention between the two great powers.

The military contests between the two led to changes in armament and tactics on both sides. Generally speaking, the growth in importance of heavily armed cavalry was a feature of the armies of both sides during the third and fourth centuries. Although much has been written about the *clibanarii* and *cataphracts* the history of the development of armoured horsemen, especially regarding the borrowings and influences between Romans and Persians, is unclear. From the Sassanian rock relief at Taq-e Bistan and archaeological finds of armour, it would seem that heavy cavalry was an important part of the army at the end of the sixth century, especially employed against the Romans. Central Asian nomads and the Arabs from the desert, however, with greater mobility proved more than a match later for the Sassanians.

The two empires had diplomatic and martial contacts as well as trade, but the most important contacts were between the peoples of the fertile crescent. By the third century the principal inhabitants of both the Sassanian and the Roman side of the 'crescent' were either Aramaic or rather Syriac speakers (including Palmyrene, Hatran and other dialects) or Arabic speakers, and the fastest growing religion in the entire area, of course, was Christianity. The history of migrations of Arab tribes into the land between the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as into Syria, is little known but it seems to have been an extended and slow process, and the later Arab buffer states of the Lakhmids on the Sassanian side and the Ghassanids on the Byzantine frontier were both heirs to the earlier 'caravan cities' as well as problems for the two empires. When Shapur II was still a child Arab tribesmen raided deep into Sassanian territory, and the king finally was obliged to mount a counter-attack deep into Arabia to punish the marauders, but when exactly this occurred and whether Arab lands were annexed is unknown.

The fourth and later centuries saw a growing 'nomadization' of the lowlands between the Mediterranean and the Iranian plateau. The disappearance of the 'caravan cities' surely contributed to this phenomenon and the growth of population among the bedouin tribes was another factor. Raids of Arab bedouin were a constant threat to the settled folk of the fertile crescent both on the Roman and on the Persian side, and the answer of both empires was to build walls and forts for defence against the attacks of the nomads. However, these measures only deterred but did not stop the Arabs. Finally, in the seventh century the Arabs, spurred by a new, militant religion, overthrew the Sassanian empire and the Near Eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire.

IV. RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS

Perhaps the most significant changes in outlook, culture and society in the third and fourth centuries of our era both in the Roman and the Sassanian worlds were the changes in religion which marked the end of the old 'pagan' religions and the flowering of 'universal' religions. Both Christianity and Talmudic Judaism were in the process of defining orthodoxy in the respective faiths while Zoroastrianism under the leadership of religious figures such as Kerdîr (Kartîr) became more organized and centralized. Later Zoroastrianism in effect was to become the 'state church' of the Sassanian empire with a hierarchy parallel to the court hierarchy of the crown. At the top was the *mobadan mobad* or chief of priests similar to the *shahanshah* or 'king of kings' in the secular realm. It is interesting to see the swings from tolerance of other religions under Shapur I to the intolerance of the Vahrans and again apparently a return to the policy of Shapur under Narses and his successors until the reign of Shapur II. The persecution of Christians at that time was initiated by the conversion of Constantine which followed that of the Armenian king Tiridates about 301. Henceforth the lines were drawn that Christians in the Sassanian empire were subject to suspicion that they secretly were partisans of Roman interests because of the identity of religion. It was not until the fifth century that the suspicion and hostility somewhat changed when the Nestorian church broke with Antioch and became a Christian Persian church of the Sassanian empire. Nonetheless the identification of religion and state was solidified, and followers of other religions were relegated to the status of second-class citizens, a system which much later in the Near East came to be known as the *milet* or 'nationalities' system.

Before the third century in Iran as well as in the rest of the Near East in general the ancient view of religions still prevailed, although the many saviour and gnostic cults of the late hellenistic age had transformed peoples' outlooks. In the more ancient world deities were local or 'national'

in the sense of being the gods of a tribe or people or a region. When the Achaemenid kings conquered and ruled Egypt, for example, they did not seek to impose a Persian religion or worship of Persian deities on the local people. Rather, on a number of occasions, we learn that the foreign rulers honoured the local gods, either by acts of worship or by largesse to temples. As cults became organized religions, however, ideas of universality came to dominate religious thinking. In simple terms polytheism became henotheism which in turn, in many cases, led to monotheism and a belief that one's god was omnipotent and should be everyone's god. Both missionary zeal and an intolerance of, and competition with, other faiths developed. The third century can be regarded as the time when ancient beliefs were being replaced by organized religions with enthusiastic and often militant adherents. Jewish converts in Adiabene and Christian converts vied with Zoroastrian priests in making more converts. The new faith of Manichaeism, however, may have been a prime catalyst for unity and organization in other religions, for Manichaeism was certainly an important rival of both Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

Mani, the founder of the new religion, was born in southern Mesopotamia in 216 but of a Parthian father and mother. At first a member of a baptismal sect, the Elkesaites, Mani later broke with the followers of the baptismal sect because of visions he had telling him to leave them and preach a new message. His early converts, apart from his father and relatives, were Sassanian princes, and he won the favour of Shapur I which enabled him to send missionaries throughout the Sassanian empire. Although the lifetime of Augustine is later than the limits of this volume, his conversion to Manichaeism indicates the extent of missionary activity in the western part of the Roman empire. It is significant that both the Romans, especially the emperor Diocletian, and the Persians, under Vahran I and II and later, attacked Manichaeism as a menace to the established order, and it seems clear that the doctrines of this religion aroused intense opposition among adherents of other faiths. What were the differences in Manichaeism which seemed threatening to various other religions?

One feature of Manichaeism which strikes the outside observer was its adaptability to the religious environment in which it sought converts. Generally speaking Manichaean missionaries were prone to adopt features of Christianity in the west, Zoroastrianism in Iran and Buddhism in the farther east, but claiming that other religions were incomplete and had become corrupt from the time of their founders. His religion was to be recorded by him in various writings which would be translated under his supervision so that they would not be changed or diluted by succeeding generations. Furthermore, his religion was not to be limited to one area or even empire, but was to be a universal faith to be propagated all over the world as a duty by believers. Probably it was the missionary zeal combined

with a belief in the superiority of this new faith over the corrupted other religions which engendered such a great hostility against the Manichaeans. The division of believers into common folk *auditores* and the hierarchical, monkish *electi* seems to have attracted intellectuals to the religion, and because of the accommodation made by the Manichaeans to the various religions where they lived, they were everywhere regarded as arch-heretics and subjected to persecution. It may have been also the great emphasis on 'holy' books by the Manichaeans which influenced the Zoroastrians to codify and record in writing their scriptures, the Avesta with its commentary the *zand*. The third century is also the beginning of the process by which the Babylonian Talmud came into being, but in the third and fourth centuries the exilarchate was the supreme power in the Jewish communities of the east.

The origin of the exilarch or *resh galutha* (Aramaic) over the Jewish people in the Sassanian empire is unknown and subject to dispute, but the nomination of a Jewish leader from the Davidic line to be responsible for all Jews in the empire, as an institution of the state, fits well with the activities of the Zoroastrian priest Kerdir, who was influential and powerful under the reigns of the two Vahrans. Although a kind of exilarchate probably existed under the Parthians, it seems to have been formally institutionalized under the early Sassanian rulers. This did not mean more freedom from control and persecution; on the contrary the Zoroastrian priesthood at times led pogroms against the Jews as well as against Christians. Since on the whole, however, the Jews supported the Persians when at war with the Romans, they must have felt better under Sassanian than under Roman rule. Although Roman enmity towards the Jews continued after the two wars in Palestine (66–73 and 132–5) and many Jews, especially zealots, hoped for Persian victories against the Romans, there were no major revolts against the Romans in the third and early fourth centuries, and under Diocletian the Jews fared well. The patriarch of the Jews in Palestine (*Nassi* in Hebrew) held a position similar to the exilarch in the east, but how far his influence and authority extended to Jews of the diaspora in the Roman empire is unclear. After Diocletian, however, the tolerance of the Roman state began to change to enmity against Jews. This was especially true after the conversion of Constantine when religious antagonism was joined with political opposition, making the lot of the Jews in the west even more unfavourable than previously.

So in the domain of religions the third century saw the beginning of a polarization between the Roman empire with one state religion and a Sassanian state with another state religion. The Roman Christian church of the fourth century paralleled the Zoroastrian 'church' of the Sassanian empire. Minority faiths in the latter were organized in a *milet* system whereby the exilarch of the Jews or the patriarch of the Christians was responsible for his community in matters such as the collection of taxes and the

maintenance of law and order among his co-religionists. In the Roman empire, on the other hand, the few Zoroastrians, primarily in eastern Anatolia, survived for a time only in the hills before they vanished, as eventually did the many pagan cults which in the third and fourth centuries did continue but were constantly losing ground to the growing Christian missionary efforts.

Religion has been emphasized since it became more and more the distinguishing mark of identity of a person. While Roman citizenship in the western empire became a symbol of adherence to a state and government until the fall of the empire, in the Sassanian empire the hellenistic allegiance of a subject to his ruler continued, now reinforced by the religious sanction of a state faith, Zoroastrianism. There was no counterpart to Roman citizenship under the Sassanians, and the charismatic figure of a strong ruler was the focus of allegiance of people in the Sassanian empire. In this respect they were more akin to the Semitic-speaking and other peoples of the Near East than were the latter to the citizens of Rome. The seeds of the Middle Ages were laid in this period both in the Roman and in the Sassanian states, but the coming of the Arabs and Islam, although they changed much in the Near East, also continued the traditions of the Sassanian empire much more than those of the Romans, especially in state structure and in religion with the *milet* system.

Although religion becomes paramount in importance in this age, trade and commerce, although not so vibrant and active as under the Parthians, still continued to influence state policies. Conquests and booty provided both land and goods for the winner to exploit, and trade in luxuries as well as in spices, the substitutes for refrigerators in antiquity, was very important for both empires.

To turn to short-distance trade, an enumeration of the fruits and plants alone which came to the west from Iran in this period is suggestive of both contacts and the great debt of the west to Iran in this area. The name of the peach (*persika*), in Russian *persik*, is one of the most famous borrowings from Iran, but one could extend the list with pomegranates, almonds, pistachios and a host of more exotic fruits. Naturally one cannot say whether these products of the soil, bush or tree originated in Iran, but even if they came from the farther east, the road to the west led through Iran since the carrying of such plants and trees by sea was hazardous. It is impossible from the sources we have to determine the extent and importance of trade in edible products between the Sassanian and Roman empires, but by the time of the Arab conquests, when we do have sources, there were many merchants who engaged in extensive trading in spices, herbs and other edibles all over the Near East.

Long-distance trade in luxury objects is easier to determine since archaeological excavations have uncovered beautiful Sassanian textiles, silver ewers

and platters and other luxury objects as far afield as northern Russia and China. Brocades, woollen rugs and decorated cotton cloths from Iran were famous in antiquity as they still are almost to the present. Of course some came from central Asia, the Caucasus or northwest India, all within the greater Iranian cultural area. It is significant that silver not gold was the preferred precious metal of the Persians as well as the people of central Asia and the steppes, while the gold of the Roman empire went to India where the ratio of gold to silver always has been higher than elsewhere. There was no counterpart to the Roman *aureus* in the Sassanian state, and the quality of the silver fashioned there remained high throughout the Sassanian period.

Sassanian coinage maintained several features throughout history. First, it was primarily a silver coinage with some local coinage of smaller denominations in copper. Second, it was always a distinctive, very flat coinage which made it easy to carry and to stack. Finally, and most important, unlike Roman coinage where we find frequent debasement of the coinage, the Sassanian *dram* (New Persian *dirham* from Greek *drachme*) maintained a very high percentage of silver and a steady weight (c. 4 grammes) throughout their rule. This was not lost upon the nomadic and settled peoples of the Eurasian north, for few Roman and Byzantine silver plates and vessels have been found in Russia, for example, in comparison to the large quantity of Sassanian objects. It should be noted, however, that trade in such objects as furs, amber, and honey (the sweetener of antiquity) from northern peoples flowed more to Iran than to the west because of greater demand. Another feature of Sassanian coinage is the absence of political propaganda on the coins, contrasting with Roman coinage where, for example, victories were commemorated on the coins. For the Sassanians, coinage only held an economic importance, so later coinage is standardized with little aesthetic quality since what was significant was the weight and quality of the silver rather than the iconography of obverses and reverses. The only changing feature on the coins is the distinctive crown worn by each ruler (sometimes several different crowns) and the name of the ruler in the inscription, portrayed on silver objects and on rock carvings. The crowns are important for identifying rulers.

A few rulers struck gold coins (*dinar* from Latin, *denarius*) in imitation of the Roman *aureus*, but the purpose of such rare coins is unclear since they follow the same style and pattern as the usual silver coinage and reveal nothing about victories or the like. Another feature of the legends on Sassanian coins is the insertion of a pious or encouraging word, such as *'pzwñ GDH* ('may splendour increase') and again these seem to follow some kind of canonical variation. The centralization of monetary policy is apparent from the standardization of coinage, and we may assume that the mints were few and strictly controlled, although the number of mint

sites increased considerably by the end of the dynasty. The great increase in the number of coins under Shapur II indicates that probably at that time payments in kind gave way to payments in coin, especially to troops and government functionaries. In short, from the coins, as well as from the luxury goods of the Sassanians, we may conclude that the Persians fared well in economic competition with the Roman empire, and if anything at least the economic prestige of the Sassanian empire rose as that of the Roman empire declined, as far as the peoples who were neither subjects of the one or the other were concerned.

V. CONCLUSIONS

From the above survey a picture of the Sassanian empire as a strong and worthy foe and competitor of the Roman empire emerges. The old Greek concept of everyone who did not speak Greek and was not imbued with Greek culture as a barbarian was not current in the Roman empire. The Romans had to fight against barbarians beyond the Rhine and Danube *limes*, but the Sassanians were in a different category; for their empire was a state similar to that of the Romans, and the *lex* of the Romans was matched by the *dad* of the Persians. We know much about Roman law, but both the Romans as well as the Sassanians were the descendants of the Achaemenids in the realm of law, only the Romans probably knew more about the Achaemenids than did the Sassanians. The Sassanians developed their laws in the same direction as western church law of the Middle Ages, whereas the secular bases of Roman law did not vanish in the west, as apparently the Achaemenid counterparts did in the east even before the Sassanians. In other words, Sassanian law became essentially religious law with *mobads* and *rads*, Zoroastrian priests, administering that law, which was also true of the Christian Middle Ages. The west, however, had a renaissance, and the reawakening of Roman law was part of that change, whereas in the east no renaissance came, partially because the past was lost. In the period with which we are concerned, however, the Roman and Sassanian empires were more alike than we hitherto have supposed, and even though they were more often enemies than friends, royal pretenders on either side, if they had to flee from their homeland, could and did take refuge in that state where they would receive the respect due an equal, if not actual support to gain or regain a position in their homeland. In the eyes of the Romans, the Persians were not in the same category as the Germans or Arabs, and Armenia was more than a buffer between the two since it was located on the flanks of both and subject to both conquest and conciliation as an ally. Furthermore, Armenian culture, especially among the upper classes, was overwhelmingly Iranian. Cultural influences of the Sassanians spread far and wide, whereas Roman civilization comparatively speaking seems to

have had less influence at the time on peoples living beyond the frontiers of the empire. Furthermore, whereas many people have considered Roman culture to be derivative from hellenic civilization, the Sassanians were seen by many as the continuation and adaption of the cultures of the ancient Near East. For just as the Jews, so do the surviving Zoroastrians today consider themselves the heirs of an ancient and rich culture as well as religion.

CHAPTER 15

ARMENIA AND THE EASTERN MARCHES

C. S. LIGHTFOOT

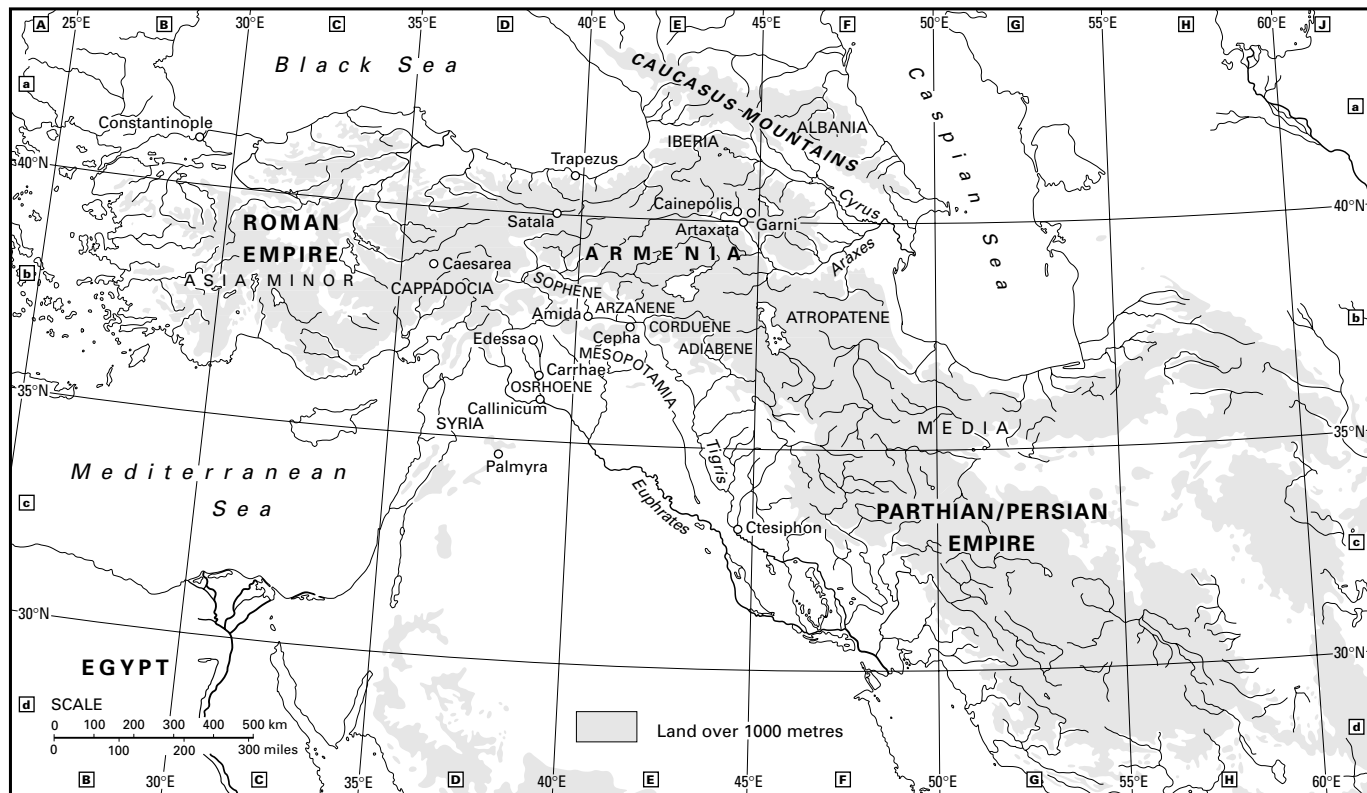
I. INTRODUCTION

Eastern Anatolia, to which the Romans first came during the campaigns of Lucullus in 70 B.C., is a land characterized by high mountain ranges, isolated but well-watered valleys, and bleak upland pastures or *yailas*.¹ Physical geography dictates that historically the region has supported only a small and scattered population. In much of eastern Anatolia the hard living conditions are aggravated by a severe climate. In winter deep snow covers the ground and temperatures stay well below zero for many months, while in summer the heat can be intense and water is scarce. These factors have always acted as a constraint on the development of agriculture and the growth of urban centres.² They have also hampered internal communications, so that communities have had a very local focus, remote from any central authority. The region was never fashioned into an effective and sustained political unit.

On the other hand, because it stands at the crossroads of various invasion and trade routes, eastern Anatolia has had a lasting strategic importance. To the west it provides access to the central Anatolian plateau and Asia Minor proper; to the north are the Caucasus passes, which brought invaders from the steppes of central Asia; to the east the valleys of the Araxes and Cyrus rivers lead to the Caspian Sea and Atropatene, while to the south lie the plains of Mesopotamia. Consequently, eastern Anatolia has frequently been the stage for wars between imperial powers wishing to extend their control to include this vital region. So it was in the struggles between Rome and her Iranian rivals, although other factors frequently overshadowed this basic reason. Whilst most campaigns were directed across the fertile crescent, the existence of major routes leading from eastern Anatolia to the plains of

¹ For concise descriptions of the physical geography: Erzen (1984) 51–5; Zimansky (1985) 12–31; Sinclair (1987) 55–62; Hewsen (2001), 15–19. Zimansky includes a set of Landsat photographs covering the whole of eastern Anatolia. Two maps of the region covering the relevant historical period have been published in the TAVO series: Kettenhofen (1982) and (1984a); see also Talbert (2000): Maps 88–9 (and Directories, 1255–91).

² The cities of Armenia are listed by Jones (1971) 539 (Table 24), 540 (Table 27), 542 (Table 32).



Map 7 Armenia and the eastern marches

Mesopotamia or across Armenia from Roman Cappadocia to Media called for both sides to recognize the need for a wider front of action.

I. SOURCES

Sources for the history of eastern Anatolia in the third and early fourth centuries A.D. do not present a clear and coherent picture of events. They comprise three distinct groups which reflect the views of the different sides that were involved in the struggle over the region at that time.

On the Roman side the works of Cassius Dio and Herodian provide a certain amount of information, covering the Severan dynasty and the reign of Maximinus Thrax, but thereafter we must resort to the *Historia Augusta*, which provides biographies of emperors and 'pretenders' until 284. Even at the end of our period, in the more stable and better documented times of the tetrarchs, we are poorly served, relying on the works of church historians and the brief entries of the fourth-century epitomists. In addition, later Byzantine compilations supply a number of valuable pieces of evidence; we are fortunate, for example, that one fragment of the sixth-century *De Legationibus* by Petrus Patricius has preserved details of the peace of 298.

The native, essentially Armenian, sources comprise much useful information, but this is so confused and intertwined with national legends that great care has to be taken in their use. These works were written in the native language between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D., and they are much influenced by the attitudes and prejudices of the clergymen who composed them.³ They are, nevertheless, valuable documents, especially for the light they shed on the social and religious history of the period.

Finally, the relevant Iranian sources are limited to three important epigraphic documents. The first is a trilingual inscription (hereafter *RGDS*) in Parthian, Middle Persian and Greek, recording the exploits of the Sassanian king Shapur I, on the tower monument called the Ka'ba of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rostam in Fars.⁴ The second, on the same tower, is a Middle Persian inscription set up by the high priest Kartir, while the third, in Parthian and Middle Persian, found at Paikuli in northwest Iran, commemorates Narses' seizure of the Persian throne in 293.⁵

II. THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM

In antiquity most of eastern Anatolia was contained within the kingdom of Armenia. Apart from a short period during the reign of Tigranes the Great (95–55 B.C.), this was not a strong and independent state but a country

³ Toumanoff (1969) 234–5; Garsoïan (1971) 342–3.

⁴ English translation: Frye, *Iran* app. 4, §§ 1–29, 371–3. For a general survey of Middle Persian documents: Gignoux (1983).

⁵ English translation: Frye, *Iran* app. 5, §§ A–H, 375–7.

whose continued existence was only the result of the rivalry and conflict between its more powerful neighbours, Rome on the one hand and Parthia, later Sassanian Persia, on the other. As a consequence of the Armenian wars fought in the reign of the emperor Nero, a new dynasty was established on the Armenian throne, that of the Arsacids, a branch of the Parthian royal house. The first king of this line, Tiridates I, was nominated by his brother, the Parthian king Vologaeses I, but received his crown from Nero at a ceremony performed in Rome in 66.⁶ This compromise formed the basis of the *status quo* that prevailed in Armenia until the dissolution of the monarchy in the fifth century A.D.

Both powers, however, took every opportunity to implement a more aggressive policy, one of gaining complete control over the kingdom. Hence during the second century the Romans tried to exploit their military ascendancy by installing their own nominee on the Armenian throne.⁷ Likewise, after the overthrow of the Parthian Arsacids in the 220s, the new rulers of Iran, the Sassanians, made strenuous efforts to replace the Armenian Arsacid kings with members of their own house. This hostility naturally drove the Armenian kings to look more favourably on the Romans during the course of the third century, a feeling that was later reinforced by one of religious fraternity.

The Romans and their counterparts in Iran used very similar methods to exert control over Armenia. Both sides paid court to the king of Armenia when it suited their purpose, especially at such times as they were preparing military campaigns against each other. In the fourth century the offering of gifts and subsidies is well attested not only to the Armenian king, but also to the rulers of minor principalities in eastern Anatolia.⁸ This was doubtless practised in the preceding century too.⁹ On the other hand, the two imperial powers exploited the weakness and divisions within the Armenian kingdom to exact tribute and military assistance. There is evidence to suggest that both Rome and Persia levied taxes on Armenia.¹⁰ Likewise, from the third century onwards one hears increasingly of Armenians serving in the Roman armies either in ethnic detachments or in an individual capacity.¹¹ The presence of Armenian archers serving in the army of Maximinus Thrax

⁶ Chaumont (1976) 116–23. ⁷ Chaumont (1976) 130–9, 146–52; Mitford (1980) 1195–9, 1202–5.

⁸ Julian, *Or.* I. 21A; Amm. Marc. XXI.6.7–8. ⁹ Dio, LXXVIII.77.4.

¹⁰ Tiridates IV is described by one source as a tribute-paying vassal of Rome: Agathangelos Va. 167. For the different versions of Agathangelos: van Esbroeck (1971) 14–19. Moses frequently refers to the payment of tribute by the Armenian king: Moses, III.10, 11, 21 and 75 (English translation: Thomson 1978).

¹¹ *SHA*, *Tyr. Trig.* 37.3–4; *Aurel.* 11.3. Later, Armenian horse archers are attested at the battle of Mursa in 353: Zos. II.51. Some of the most successful and famous of late Roman and Byzantine generals were of Armenian stock; see Charanis (1959) 31. Other Armenians came into Roman service as slaves; the most notable example is the eunuch Euthierus who had a distinguished career in the Constantinian household: Amm. Marc. XVI.7.5–6.

on the German frontier is clearly a legacy of the joint expedition against Persia in the reign of Severus Alexander.¹² Rome had also deployed her own troops in Armenia since the first century A.D.; their presence is attested by a small corpus of inscriptions, which includes references to vexillations of legions XV Apollinaris and XII Fulminata at Caineapolis (Valarshapat) from the late Antonine period.¹³ Yet, by its very nature, the Armenian army had a great deal in common with that of the Parthians and Sassanians. Their formations, tactics, weapons and equipment were all very similar, and this must have lent ease to their mutual co-operation.¹⁴

Other ways in which an influence was exerted over the kingdom included exacting hostages and receiving fugitives. So, for example, the Armenian queen was held captive by Caracalla for eleven months and a prince of Corduene was taken hostage by the Romans in the mid-fourth century.¹⁵ Fugitives are likewise attested. The young Tiridates fled to the Romans and was befriended by the future emperor Licinius.¹⁶ Other Armenian princes, however, are said to have taken refuge at the Persian court.¹⁷ In the last resort kings could be deposed, imprisoned and even put to death if they earned the displeasure of their Roman or Persian masters. Caracalla is said to have arrested and held prisoner Chosroes I (his fate thereafter is not recorded), while the Persian king is accused by Armenian historians of instigating the murder of the very same ruler.¹⁸

External cultural influences are much in evidence in Armenia, where little by way of native art can be discerned before the early Middle Ages.¹⁹ The kingdom was in essence an oriental monarchy, and many of its customs and practices were based on Iranian models.²⁰ There was, however, also a veneer of Graeco-Roman culture pervading the royal court. Excavations at the site of the ancient capital, Artaxata, have revealed structures and artifacts that are firmly within the classical tradition,²¹ but the most striking examples of Graeco-Roman architecture are found at Garni, the royal summer residence to the northeast of the capital. Here there is an Ionic temple-like building,

¹² Herod. vii.2.1; *SHA, Alex. Sev.* 61.8.

¹³ *ILS* 394; 9117; *SEG* xv.839; see Crow (1986). Artaxata appears in the list of stations inscribed on the shield of a Palmyrene archer in the Roman garrison at Dura Europus; see Rebuffat (1986). For Roman military inscriptions in the Caucasus, see Braund (1991).

¹⁴ The principal arm of the Armenian forces was the *nakhhar* cavalry: Faustus, iv.20; see Adontz (1970) 218–27.

¹⁵ Dio, lxxviii.27.4; *Amm. Marc.* xviii.6.20.

¹⁶ Agathangelos Aa. 36–7; Ag. 16–17 (English translation: Thomson 1976). Both Tiridates and Licinius are said to have served under Galerius during the campaigns against Narses: Agathangelos Aa. 41–4; Aq. 18–20; Moses, ii.79; Eutr. x.4; Lact. *DMP* 20.3; Zos. ii.11.

¹⁷ Zon. xii.21.

¹⁸ Dio, lxxvii.12.1²; Agathangelos Aq. 12–13; Vk. 18; Moses, ii.74.

¹⁹ For examples of art found in Armenia during the first to third centuries A.D., see Santrot (1996) 240–7, nos. 246–65.

²⁰ Garsoïan (1976) 207–8, 210–13; Lang (1983) 524–8.

²¹ Arakelian (1984a) and (1984b); for a survey of other excavations in Armenia, see Zardarian and Akopyan (1994).

perhaps a royal mausoleum of the late second century, and Roman-style baths, complete with hypocaust and mosaic floors, dating to the late third century.²²

Finally, religion plays a significant role in the struggle over Armenia. The indigenous polytheism had long been mixed with Iranian elements and, as in Parthia, pagan religion was essentially syncretic. However, when Armenia was temporarily brought under direct Persian control in the mid-third century, measures were taken on the initiative of the Zoroastrian clergy, especially the high priest Kartir, to purify Armenian religious beliefs.²³ At the same time there occurs the first reference to Christianity. Eusebius names as bishop of the Armenians a certain Meruzanes, who corresponded with bishop Dionysius of Alexandria (248–65).²⁴ Meruzanes' see has been identified with Sophene and so forms a link between the early diffusion of Christianity in the kingdom and its presence in northern Mesopotamia.²⁵ The evidence for early Syrian influence on the Armenian church is slight since it was later submerged in the more powerful current coming from Cappadocia with Gregory the Illuminator at the beginning of the fourth century. Armenian liturgical language, however, has preserved many Syriac terms, and primitive monasticism in Armenia, as depicted by Faustus, bears a very close resemblance to that practised by the ascetics of Syria and Mesopotamia.²⁶

It is impossible to gain a clear insight into the nature of Christian beliefs in Armenia, since the surviving native histories, all of which were written by orthodox clergymen, have expunged all hint of the existence of different sects within the Armenian church. Yet it is highly likely that heretical Christian and quasi-Christian groups flourished in Armenia, just as they did in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.²⁷ The continuing strength of paganism in the kingdom however, should not be underestimated. Even after the conversion of the king Tiridates IV, and the evangelizing work of Gregory the Illuminator, a large proportion of the Armenian population stayed pagan at heart. The fact that in the fifth century St Mesrop could be credited with considerable missionary activity indicates that pagan cults and practices survived long after the formal adoption of Christianity.²⁸

²² Sahinian (1969); Lang (1970) 144–6; Kouymjian (1981) 264; Ter-Martirossov (1996) (who mentions the tradition that the temple was converted into a royal tomb in the first half of the fourth century); *contra* Wilkinson (1982) (who regarded the building as a mausoleum of the late second century).

²³ Moses, II.77; see Chaumont (1973) 692–701; Russell (1987) 119–28; (1990).

²⁴ Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VI.46.2.

²⁵ Adontz (1970) 270–1. For possible Manichaean missionary activity in Armenia, also linked with Edessa, see Lieu (1992) 103–06.

²⁶ Faustus, VI.16; see Vööbus (1960) 358; Winkler (1980) 140 n. 96.

²⁷ It has been argued that the hostile accounts of two mid-fourth-century kings, Arsaces and Paps, are a reflection of the prejudices voiced against them as Arian sympathizers: Garsoïan (1967).

²⁸ Thomson (1976) lxxxviii–lxxxix.

The traditional date for the conversion of Armenia is 301. In recent years, however, convincing arguments have been produced in favour of 314.²⁹ It is clear that at first Tiridates persecuted Christians within his kingdom in accordance with the policy laid down by Diocletian and Galerius. His subservience to the Romans in this respect is amply shown by the content and tone of the letter which he is said to have sent to Diocletian.³⁰ Since the emperor was the religious as well as the secular head of state, loyal subjects and vassals such as Tiridates would have been obliged to mould their own political and religious outlook accordingly. His acceptance of the Christian faith was, therefore, probably a direct result of the conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan in 312–13.³¹

The conversion of Tiridates was not, however, universally welcomed in Armenia. The conflict between the king and nobles in the fourth century may be seen partly in terms of the reaction of conservative landowners to religious innovation. The rulers of the principalities and the great estates of the realm were probably aware of the benefit of local cults in focusing the loyalty of their vassals and serfs. Consequently, they may have seen the imposition of a uniform religion, patronized by the royal house, as a threat to their independent status. Yet it would be to oversimplify the situation beyond measure to divide Armenia into two opposing religious parties, the one Christian and pro-Roman, the other pagan and pro-Persian. In such times of change and instability there must have been as much fluctuation in people's religious convictions as there was in their political allegiances. Tiridates IV is himself a case in point.

The sequence, identity and chronology of Armenian kings in the third and fourth centuries are fraught with contradictions and difficulties. It has been demonstrated that the genealogy of father-to-son succession does not fit the timescales that are available and that the Armenian sources often indulge in reduplications and other anachronisms.³² Yet modern scholars have still found it difficult to agree on a regnal list.³³ The task has not been made easier by the lack of a native coinage to act as a guide to the Arsacid dynasty. The resulting confusion about the dates and names of kings does, however, prove one important underlying fact: that Armenia was regularly disturbed by factional strife. In our period there is evidence for dissension within the Arsacid house on three separate occasions, first during the time

²⁹ Barnes, *CE* 258; Mahé (1996) 259; *contra* Braund (1994) 238–9.

³⁰ Agathangelos Ag. 40. The letter has been regarded as an early composition, if not an authentic document from the royal chancellery: Thomson (1976) xlvi–xlix.

³¹ Agathangelos has been shown to contain two recensions concerning the conversion of Constantine and Tiridates, one of which contradicts the traditional view that Tiridates was first to embrace Christianity: Gulbekian (1977) 51–4.

³² Hewsén (1978–9) 101–3.

³³ Compare Toumanoff (1969) 274–5; Hewsén (1978–9) 99; Frye, *Iran* 293 n. 27; Lang (1983) 517–18.

of Caracalla, again in 287 when a case of royal fratricide occurred, and finally in the 330s when one of the king's relatives rebelled against the throne.

Armenia was a feudal society, and in this lay the major cause of the kingdom's internal weakness. It was divided up into numerous separate districts, comprising isolated communities ruled over by hereditary noble families, called *nakharars* and *azats*.³⁴ The nobles were able to command affairs in their own district, remaining relatively undisturbed by and independent from central authority. They occupied imposing strongholds that dominated their estates in the river valleys and upland pastures. The very nature of the terrain greatly enhanced their security of tenure; hence the noble families survived long after the partition of the kingdom and the dissolution of the monarchy. Their lands were parcelled out as military fiefs, and the contingents thus raised, which made up the bulk of the Armenian army, owed their loyalty principally to the *nakharars* who commanded them.

The king depended heavily on the goodwill of the local magnates, since they had direct control over most of the land, the army and the peasant population. They remained loyal to him in return for certain hereditary and honorific offices at court. They were, however, obsessed with their own status and prerogatives, and the slightest infringement to the strict codes of rank and station could lead either to the withdrawal of their allegiance or to armed insurrection. Rivalry between the families was also intense.³⁵ Yet the sentiment of pride within the nobility was sometimes combined with one of unswerving loyalty to the king, and the native sources consistently identify the Armenian rulers with the Arsacid house. All this fits well with the rigid system of inherited position and precedence which appears to have been a corner-stone of Armenian society.

The urban population was small and, apparently, contained a large proportion of foreign traders and craftsmen, mainly Syrians and Jews.³⁶ There was little in the way of a central administration; for example, no evidence survives for a class of secretaries and notaries in the Armenian kingdom, although this may in part be due to the lack of a native script; until the fifth century Greek and Aramaic were the principle languages used in written transactions before the invention of the Armenian alphabet. Two rare examples of Greek inscriptions relating to the royal court are known; one records the gift of a village by the king to a dignitary, the other the construction of a building at Garni.³⁷ The Armenian Arsacids also lacked the ability to mint their own coins, despite the fact that the region was a rich source of minerals

³⁴ Manandian (1965) 69–72; Der Nersessian (1973) 292–4.

³⁵ Faustus recounts a feud in the reign of Chosroes III in which the Manawazian and Orduni houses were mutually exterminated: Faustus, III.4.

³⁶ Faustus, IV.55; see Manandian (1965) 64–5.

³⁷ SEG xv.837, 836. Chaumont dates the former to the second half of the first century A.D., but the latter is best taken as referring to Tiridates IV: Chaumont (1976) app. 1, 185–8, figs. 4a–b; Toumanoff (1970) 477–8. For the use of Aramaic in the Arsacid period: Périkhanian (1971) 5–8.

throughout antiquity and there was a tradition of minting coinage from the Artaxiad dynasty. Money transactions were thus carried out in foreign coin, both Roman and Sassanian, reflecting the decentralized nature and dependent status of the kingdom.³⁸

Rivalry, as we have seen, existed on many levels: between the two imperial powers, the members of the Arsacid royal house, the king and local lords, and between the noble families themselves. The Armenian sources, therefore, present a completely false picture when they portray the country as a unified and centralized state under the Arsacid monarchy.³⁹ The king was very much subject to circumstances beyond his control and to pressures both from outside the kingdom and from within.

III. THE MARCHES

Armenia proper was flanked by a number of minor states, which at various times and in varying degrees were bound to the kingdom. To the north lay the smaller kingdoms of Iberia and Albania, both of which played an important role in the defence of the Caucasus passes against tribes migrating west and southwards from the steppes of central Asia. Arsacid or Parthian dynasties ruled in Iberia from c. 180 until 284 and in Albania until the end of the fifth century.⁴⁰ The inscription of Kartir alludes to a Persian invasion of Iberia and Albania some time after 260, and in the *RGDS* both kingdoms are listed amongst Shapur's vassals.⁴¹ Indeed, the king of Iberia, Hamazasp, was given a privileged position in the hierarchy of the Sassanian court.⁴² In 284 the Iberian throne passed to Meribanes III, a member of the Iranian Mihranid family. As a Persian vassal, he gave military aid to Narses in 296–7. After Galerius' victory he was, nevertheless, allowed to retain his throne in return for his submission to Rome. The western orientation of the kingdom was further enhanced when in c. 335 Meribanes became a convert to Christianity.⁴³ The other marches were ruled over by hereditary princes called *bdeakhsh* or *vitaxae*.⁴⁴ On the eastern borders of Armenia lay the Median march, comprising lands in Atropatene and Adiabene that were wrested from the Persians in 298. To the south were the all-important Syrian and Arabian marches, themselves divided up into a number of autonomous principalities. The Syrian march, formerly the kingdom of Sophene, included the principalities of Ingilene, Anzitene, Lesser and Greater Sophene, each with its own local ruler. The

³⁸ For the distribution of Roman, Parthian and Sassanian coins in Armenia: Muselyan (1983); Akopyan (1984); Mousheghian *et al.* (2000).

³⁹ Garsoïan (1971) 342; Hewsen (1978–9) 95. ⁴⁰ Toumanoff (1959) 21–7 and (1963) 81–4.

⁴¹ Sprengling, *Iran* 47 (ll. 12–13), 51–2; *RGDS* § 2 = Sprengling, *Iran* 7 (l. 2), 73 (l. 3).

⁴² *RGDS* § 25 = Sprengling, *Iran* 9 (l. 25), 12 (l. 31), 76 (l. 60); see Toumanoff (1969) 252–6; Chaumont (1973) 701–7.

⁴³ Toumanoff (1963) 374–7.

⁴⁴ Toumanoff (1963) 154ff.; Adontz (1970) 222–3.

Arabian march, consisting of territories taken from the former kingdom of Corduene and from Mygdonia, was governed by the prince of Arsanene, whose vassals included the rulers of Moxsene, Corduene and Zabdicene.⁴⁵ In addition, there were further sub-divisions, so that within each march the princely realms were made up of a number of districts and cantons under the control of sub-vassals, the *azats*.⁴⁶ It is hardly surprising that with this multiplicity of regional names Roman authors failed to achieve a conformity of nomenclature. They refer in vague terms to *gentes*, *regiones* and *ethnē*, since they were unable to distinguish clearly between the major regions and their sub-divisions.⁴⁷ The five principalities that are listed by Petrus Patricius as having been ceded to Rome in 298 do not, therefore, correspond to the same number of *regiones Transstigritanae*, named by Ammianus Marcellinus, that were surrendered by Jovian in 363.

The principalities stood in a very special and ambiguous relationship to Armenia itself. The princes of the marches owed a certain degree of loyalty to the king and continued to play a role in Armenian affairs even after the settlement of 298. Documents of the Gregorian cycle mention the princes of Ingilene, Anzitene and Sophene in the entourage of Tiridates IV.⁴⁸ At least part of Ingilene appears to have remained as a royal domain in the fourth century, and an analogous situation can be seen in the way the Armenian royal house owned estates in Roman provincial territory.⁴⁹ Several of the local princes are also recorded in the service of Chosroes III during his troubled reign in the 330s.⁵⁰ But, despite their status as nominal vassals of the Armenian king, the rulers of the border marches enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Indeed, Roman and Persian interference in Armenia contributed in large part to the lasting strength and independence of their principalities.

Under the Romans their lands were accredited with the status of *civitates foederatae liberae et immunes*.⁵¹ On their accession they were probably invested with royal *insignia* by the emperor and were the recipients of imperial munificence.⁵² All this confirms their importance in Roman eyes to the security of the eastern frontier. Initially, it seems, the principalities were exempt from imperial garrisons and administration, but Roman troops clearly operated in these lands when necessity arose and, at least in the fourth century, units were recruited locally.⁵³

⁴⁵ Adontz (1970) 27–37. ⁴⁶ Chaumont (1969) 123.

⁴⁷ Festus, *Brev.* 14; Amm. Marc. xxv.7.9; Zos. iii.31.

⁴⁸ Agathangelos Aa. 795, 879–3; Aq. 135, 164.

⁴⁹ Faustus, v.7, compare Dio, lxxviii.77.4; *CTh* xi.1.1. ⁵⁰ Faustus, iii.9. ⁵¹ *CTh* xii.3.6.

⁵² Attested at a later date in Procopius, *Aed.* iii.1.17–23; compare Faustus, v.38; Moses, ii.7, 47.

⁵³ The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists three units with epithets that indicate they were recruited in the area: *ala quintadecima Flavia Carduenorum*, *cohors quartadecima Valeria Zabdenorum* and *equites sagittarii Cordueni*: Not. Dig., Or. xxxvi.34, 36, Oc. vi.83 = vii.209.

IV. OUTLINE HISTORY

During the civil war between Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus the king of Armenia refrained from being drawn into the conflict, but observed a strict neutrality which enabled him, once Severus had gained the ascendancy in 194, to establish friendly relations with the new emperor.⁵⁴ Exactly which king this was remains in dispute, but Chosroes I is the most likely.⁵⁵ He was, of course, an Arsacid and a close relative of the Parthian king, Vologaeses V. It is, nevertheless, claimed that he took part in Septimius' campaign against Ctesiphon in 198.⁵⁶ The reason for his apparent defection to the Roman side is unrecorded, but the second century had seen a gradual decline in the power and unity of the Parthian empire, while Roman campaigns in the east had repeatedly proved successful. Perhaps, too, he resented his position as a Parthian vassal and wished to enjoy greater independence under the patronage of Rome.⁵⁷ It would appear that good relations between Armenia and Rome prevailed well into the third century. It is noteworthy that none of the Severan dynasty received the title of *Armeniacus maximus*, despite Caracalla's intervention in Armenian affairs in c. 215, probably as the result of dynastic quarrels.⁵⁸ Although an ill-defined expedition under the command of Theocritus was judged unsuccessful,⁵⁹ Caracalla tricked the Armenian king into coming to him and promptly deposed him. The most significant aspect of the episode, however, is the fact that Caracalla could summon Chosroes to him with a 'friendly letter' (φιλικοῖς γράμμασιν).⁶⁰ After a period of unrest in Armenia, Chosroes' son, Tiridates, was restored to the throne by Macrinus in 217/18.⁶¹

The demise of the Parthian royal house and the rise of the Persian Sasanians further strengthened the ties that bound the Armenian Arsacids to Rome. Soon after Artashir had defeated the last Parthian king, Artabanus V, in c. 224, he embarked on a campaign to win control of Armenia and uproot the Arsacid dynasty there, which was seen as a nucleus of opposition to the Sassanian interlopers.⁶² The invasion, however, was repulsed and it is claimed that the Armenian forces followed up this success with a counter-attack that took them as far as Ctesiphon. According to the native sources, Armenian resistance was supported by the fugitive sons of Artabanus and by certain of the great Parthian families.⁶³ The *RGDS*, on

⁵⁴ Herod. III.1.2–3. ⁵⁵ Chaumont (1976) 153–4 n. 463.

⁵⁶ Dio, LXXV.9.3; see Herod. III.9.2. ⁵⁷ Toumanoff (1969) 244–5.

⁵⁸ Dio, LXXVII.12.1². In *CIL* VIII.10236 *Armeniacus* is regarded as a slip for Germanicus – *RE* II.1, col. 1186 s.v. *Armeniacus*.

⁵⁹ Dio, LXXVII.21.1. But there is also a reference to booty from Armenia captured by the Romans: Dio, LXXVIII.27.4.

⁶⁰ Dio, LXXVII.12.1²; see Toumanoff (1969) 245–8. ⁶¹ Dio, LXXVIII.27.4.

⁶² Dio, LXXX.3.3; see Nöldeke (1879) 15. ⁶³ Agathangelos Ag. 9b; Moses, II.73.

the other hand, makes it clear that many of the Parthian nobles quickly came to terms with the new ruling dynasty and abandoned their oath of allegiance to the Arsacids.⁶⁴ It is, therefore, necessary to acknowledge that the continued resistance of the Armenian Arsacids was largely dependent on Roman support.

The Romans themselves reacted swiftly to the Sassanian threat. Both Dio and Herodian mark the change of dynasty in Iran by stating that the Sassanians cherished an ambition to restore the Persian (Achaemenid) empire to its former glory.⁶⁵ In 232 Severus Alexander, in alliance with Armenia, launched a concerted attack on the Persians.⁶⁶ One column was sent under the command of Junius Palmatus to attack Media by way of Armenia, where it fell foul of the wintry conditions in the mountain passes as it was returning from the expedition.⁶⁷

After the Persian victory at Misiche and the death of Gordian III in 244, the newly appointed emperor, Philip the Arabian, quickly made peace with his Persian adversary Shapur I.⁶⁸ The terms of the treaty included a prohibition on further Roman intervention in Armenia. Nevertheless the *RGDS* implies that an attempt was subsequently made by the Roman emperor to re-establish his influence in Armenia, and this contravention of the peace treaty is cited as the pretext for Shapur's second major campaign in the west.⁶⁹ The action may also explain why Shapur did not immediately follow up his success in 244, for it would seem that Armenia was not brought under Persian control until *c.* 252. During the intervening period, however, it is likely that the Armenian king found himself increasingly isolated and vulnerable to attack from Persia.⁷⁰ Thereafter a succession of crises and disasters that afflicted the empire effectively distracted Roman attention from the plight of the Armenian kingdom.

Armenian sources speak of the assassination of Chosroes at Shapur's instigation and the flight of his son Tiridates to Rome, events that have been placed in the context of Shapur's western campaigns. There is, however, little justification for believing these accounts.⁷¹ Zonaras confirms that Tiridates II was already king of Armenia when he was forced to quit his throne, adding that it was his sons who went over to the Persians.⁷² Certainly, during his campaigns in Syria and Cappadocia Shapur must

⁶⁴ *RGDS* § 23–4 = Sprengling, *Iran* 9 (ll. 23–4), 11 (l. 29), 76 (l. 57).

⁶⁵ Dio, lxxx.4.1; Herod. vi.2.7. It has been argued that their fears were not founded on an accurate assessment of Sassanian objectives: Frye, *Iran* 296–7; Kettenhofen (1984b). That is not to say that the Sassanians were unaware of their Iranian heritage; both they and their predecessors, the Parthians, claimed descent from the Achaemenid kings: Frye (1964).

⁶⁶ Herod. iv.5.1. ⁶⁷ Herod. vi.5.5; 6.3; Zon. xii.14; see also *SHA*, *Sev. Alex.* 58.1.

⁶⁸ *RGDS* § 3–4 = Sprengling, *Iran* 7 (ll. 3–4), 73 (ll. 8–9).

⁶⁹ *RGDS* § 4 = Sprengling, *Iran* 7 (l. 4), 73 (l. 10); see *ibid.* 4, 84–5. ⁷⁰ Chaumont (1976) 169.

⁷¹ N. 18 above; see Toumanoff (1969) 252–3; *contra* Chaumont (1976) 172.

⁷² Zon. xii.21; see Sprengling, *Iran* 88.

have been able to rely on Armenia's support or, at least, neutrality. The reign of a certain Artavazdes as a Sassanian 'puppet' ruler in Armenia may also be discounted as pure invention.⁷³ However, it cannot have been long after the flight of Tiridates that Shapur's son and heir apparent, Hormizd-Ardashir, became the first Sassanian prince to rule Armenia.⁷⁴ Certainly in the *RGDS* Armenia is spoken of as if it formed part of *Eranshahr*.⁷⁵

During the troubled reigns of the emperors Valerian, Gallienus and Claudius, Rome was in no state to prise the kingdom from the Persians' grasp. Whatever were the relations of the Palmyrene dynasts, Odenathus and Zenobia, with Persia and Armenia, it was not until after Aurelian's defeat of the latter that a serious challenge could be made to Persian supremacy in the east.⁷⁶ Hormizd-Ardashir had, meanwhile, succeeded his father as Great King in 272, but it is uncertain whether another of Sapor's sons, Narses, immediately took his place in Armenia. The *Historia Augusta* implies that Narses had become king there by 279/80, when it is claimed that he made overtures to the emperor Probus.⁷⁷ It could well be that Narses was already at odds with his cousin, Vahran II, who had succeeded to the Persian throne in 274, and that his willingness to come to an agreement with Rome was prompted by a desire to have a free hand to pursue his claims for precedence. It is now difficult to reconstruct the precise sequence of events from the unreliable and conflicting accounts of the period. However, a strong case has been made for placing the reigns of two Armenian Arsacids in the years before 298, which overlapped to some extent with the period of Narses' tenure of the post of *Armenshah*.⁷⁸ The statement is found in Moses' work that Armenia was governed by a Persian prince for twenty-seven years, i.e. between 252 and 279–80.⁷⁹ It has been proposed, therefore, that Narses and Probus agreed to partition Armenia and install an Arsacid prince, Chosroes, as a Roman vassal in the western half of the kingdom.⁸⁰ Chosroes can probably be identified with one of the sons of Tiridates who had fled to the Persian side during the campaigns of Shapur. He may, therefore, have been regarded as a suitable candidate because, in accordance with the traditional settlement, he had the right credentials to be a Persian nominee as well as a Roman vassal. There is certainly evidence to suggest that Chosroes, the father of Tiridates IV, played some part in Carus' Persian expedition in

⁷³ Zon. XII.71; see Toumanoff (1969) 255; *contra* Frye, *Iran* 294 n. 27.

⁷⁴ *RGDS* § 18, 20 = Sprengling, *Iran* 8–9 (ll. 18, 20), 11 (ll. 23, 25), 75 (ll. 41, 48).

⁷⁵ *RGDS* § 1 = Sprengling, *Iran* 7 (l. 1), 73 (l. 3); see Garsoïan (1981) 31–5.

⁷⁶ Zenobia is said to have made alliances both with Persia and with Armenia during her short-lived supremacy of the east: *SHA, Aurel.* 27.5; *Tyr. Trig.* 30.7. According to the *Historia Augusta*, Aurelian bought off the Armenian squadrons that were sent to her aid: *SHA, Aurel.* 28.2. Chaumont finds cause to doubt any connection between Palmyra and Armenia: Chaumont (1976) 178–9.

⁷⁷ *SHA, Prob.* 17.4–6, 18.1; see Toumanoff (1969) 257–9; *contra* Seston, *Dioclétien* 145–6.

⁷⁸ Toumanoff (1969) 239, 261–3; Hewsens (1978–9) 103–11. ⁷⁹ Moses, II.77.

⁸⁰ Toumanoff (1969) 257–61; *contra* Chaumont (1976) 180–2.

283, an act which the *Armenshah* Narses may not have regarded in a wholly unfavourable light.⁸¹ For, after the sudden collapse of the campaign, the pro-Roman king of Armenia was left unpunished. However, a few years later, in 287, it would appear that he was murdered by a brother called Tiridates, while his young son, the future Tiridates IV (the Great), fled to the Romans for safety.⁸² In 293 Narses marched from Armenia in open revolt against his nephew with a host of supporters and allies, whose names are recorded on the Paikuli inscription. This list includes a king Tiridates, possibly of Armenia.⁸³ The inscription also shows that by this time Armenia was no longer regarded as part of *Eranshahr*, a view that is reinforced from the Roman side by a remark found in Ammianus Marcellinus.⁸⁴ Once he had established himself as the Great King, Narses is seen by Roman commentators to revert to the aggressive, neo-Achaemenid policies of his father and grandfather.⁸⁵ In 296 he invaded Roman Mesopotamia, where he encountered and defeated the Caesar Galerius between Carrhae and Callinicum. In the following year he turned his attention to Armenia. His action requires close examination, since it is generally accepted that when Narses left Armenia in 293 he appointed Tiridates as his successor.⁸⁶ Some valid reason must, therefore, be found for his hostility towards Tiridates in 297.⁸⁷ A solution may be that the Arsacid prince, having seized the throne in western Armenia in 287, proceeded to take control of the eastern half of the kingdom once Narses had quit the scene.⁸⁸ This would undoubtedly have been regarded as a provocative act by the Sassanians and so the invasion of 297 was presumably carried out with the intention of removing Tiridates and restoring the whole of Armenia to direct Persian control.

Galerius, meanwhile, had mustered a substantial field-army in order to launch a counter-offensive. He led these forces into Armenia and routed the Persian army in a surprise attack on its camp east of Satala. It was a complete and humiliating defeat for Narses. He was forced to sign a treaty which ceded the whole of northern Mesopotamia to Rome, with the frontier between the two empires marked by the river Tigris. Five *regiones Transstigritanae*, taken from the southern flank of Armenia, were also acknowledged as Roman vassals. In return, Armenia received additional territory to the east, with its frontier extended as far as the fortress of

⁸¹ *SHA*, Carus 8.1–2; Synesius, *De Regno* 12, 16 (*PG* LXVI.1081).

⁸² Agathangelos Aa. III.36; Aq. 16; Moses, II.76; see Toumanoff (1969) app. B, 278.

⁸³ *Paikuli* § H = Herzfeld (1924) 118–19 (l. 45).

⁸⁴ *Paikuli* § B, D = Herzfeld (1924) 97ff. (ll. 9, 10, 18). Amm. Marc. XXIII.5.11.

⁸⁵ Lact. *DMP* 9; compare remarks about Shapur II: Amm. Marc. XVII.5.5.

⁸⁶ Toumanoff (1969) 261–3.

⁸⁷ The theory proposed by MacDermott that Tiridates IV had already succeeded to the Armenian throne and embraced Christianity has not gained wide acceptance: MacDermott (1970).

⁸⁸ There is, perhaps, a faint hint of this in the story, told by Faustus, of discord between the Armenian king 'Tiran' and the Persian governor of Atropatene: Faustus, III.20.

Zintha in Atropatene.⁸⁹ Finally, suzerain rights over the kingdom of Iberia were ceded to Rome.⁹⁰ While the Iberian king, Meribanes III, retained his throne, it would seem that in Armenia Tiridates III was now supplanted by his nephew, Tiridates IV (the Great).⁹¹

The settlement of 298 and the ensuing peace heralded a complete reorganization of the Mesopotamian frontier, but there is scant evidence for a Diocletianic strengthening of the *limes* along the upper Euphrates. It cannot be proved that Roman troops were once again stationed in Armenia itself in support of the client king. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, compiled in c. 390, lists the units under the command of the *dux Armeniae*.⁹² They show a marked difference to those in the other frontier provinces further south; there are no units of *equites Illyriciani* and instead the old-style *auxilia* predominate. While Armenia and Iberia remained client kingdoms, the Roman provinces bordering eastern Anatolia were largely protected from enemy incursions. The static *alae* and *cohortes*, therefore, were sufficient for policing the border along the upper Euphrates and the Black Sea coast east of Trabzon. In the *regiones*, however, a Roman military presence may date back to the settlement of 298. Legions I and II Armeniacae and legions IV, V, VI Parthicae can be included amongst the large number of new units that were raised by Diocletian.⁹³ They would, therefore, have served as the nucleus of the Roman garrisons in the newly acquired principalities.⁹⁴

Very little can be said with certainty about relations between Rome and Armenia or about events in eastern Anatolia during the first quarter of the fourth century. The surviving Roman sources reflect the Constantinian version of history, which has carefully expunged all record of eastern affairs that were not directly relevant to the theme of Constantine's rise to power. It remains, therefore, unclear what part, if any, the Armenian king played in the struggles between the tetrarchs. Eusebius refers to a campaign in Armenia which he associates closely with the persecution of Christians initiated by Maximinus Daza in 312.⁹⁵ It has been argued that a secret treaty was concluded between Constantine and Tiridates in 314, which would account for Tiridates' coolness towards his old comrade Licinius.⁹⁶ The imperial titles also indicate some activity in Armenia at that time. One inscription from North Africa includes *Armeniacus maximus* among the titles assumed by Constantine before 318. The victory was presumably earned by his colleague Licinius.⁹⁷ An epigram of the elder Symmachus further suggests that a certain Verinus was the commander of troops in a

⁸⁹ Adontz (1970) 176. ⁹⁰ Petrus Patricius, *fr.* 14 (*FHG* IV. 189).

⁹¹ Toumanoff (1969) 265 esp. n. 164.

⁹² *Not. Dig.*, Or. xxxviii.

⁹³ Jones, *LRE* 57.

⁹⁴ Lightfoot (1983) 189–90 and (1986) 518–21.

⁹⁵ *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* ix.8.2; see Toumanoff (1969) 271–2.

⁹⁶ Honigsmann (1953) 18–25.

⁹⁷ *ILS* 696; see Honigsmann (1953) 26.

successful war against the Armenians, but the circumstances are completely unknown.⁹⁸

Tiridates, nevertheless, remained on the Armenian throne, since his loyalty to Rome was assured and his ready acceptance of the Christian faith must have endeared him to Constantine. His long reign came to an end in c. 330. Objections have been raised to the existence of his successor, Chosroes III, but this would have left an interregnum of some eight or nine years between the death of Tiridates and the accession of Arsaces II.⁹⁹ Despite the turmoil of these years, it is difficult to believe that there was such a long hiatus, since both internal and external forces would have acted quickly to fill the vacant throne. It is clear, however, that neither Persian nor Roman interference in Armenia followed immediately on Tiridates' death. At first the succession must have been resolved internally, although the new king was soon faced with two major revolts, the one led by a certain Sanesan or Sanatruk, a member of the Arsacid family, the other by Bakur, the ruler of Arzanene.¹⁰⁰ Both rebels received help and support from the Persian king Shapur II, who was doubtless encouraged to meddle in the affairs of the region by Constantine's preoccupation elsewhere. According to the Armenian sources, a group of nobles loyal to Chosroes appealed for Roman aid.¹⁰¹ The fate of the king remains uncertain, since it has been shown that Faustus' account confuses this episode with the events surrounding the defeat of the king Narses by Galerius.¹⁰² The threat to Armenia, or more probably the defection of Arzanene, brought the Caesar Constantius to the eastern command from Constantinople, where he had been attending the celebrations for his father's *tricennalia* and his own wedding.¹⁰³ So, this can be securely dated to 335. Shapur, meanwhile, had dispatched Persian forces to Armenia under the command of his brother Narses. They captured Amida, thereby provoking Constantius to lead the eastern field-army out to offer battle.¹⁰⁴ At Narrara on the north bank of the Tigris between Amida and Cephala the young Caesar gained a notable victory, killing the prince Narses in the process.¹⁰⁵ This action may have given rise to the establishment of permanent Roman garrisons in the *regiones*, for Constantius as Caesar is credited with the fortification of Amida and other fortresses.¹⁰⁶ Towards the end of the same year the title of *Rex Regum et Ponticarum Gentium* was conferred

⁹⁸ Symm. *Ep.* 1.2.7; *PLRE* 1. 950–2. ⁹⁹ Hewsen (1978–9) 109–10.

¹⁰⁰ Faustus, III.7, 9; Moses, III.3–4, 6–7. Sanesan's activities are also described by an Albanian source, while Bakur's revolt is alluded to by Julian: Movsēs Dasxuranci 1.12; Julian, *Or.* 1.18D–19A.

¹⁰¹ Faustus, III.21; Moses, III.10. ¹⁰² Hewsen (1978–9) 104.

¹⁰³ Eus. *Vit. Const.* IV.49.

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the date of Constantius' title *Persicus maximus*: Arce (1982); *contra* Barnes (1983).

¹⁰⁵ Ensslin (1936) 106; *contra* Peeters (1931) 44.

¹⁰⁶ Amm. Marc. XVIII.9.1; *Life of Jacob the Recluse*: Nau (1915–17) 7.

on Hannibalianus the son of Constantine's half-brother Dalmatius.¹⁰⁷ This has been taken by some scholars to indicate that Constantine wished to place a member of his own family on the Armenian throne, possibly as a counter-measure to Shapur's attempt to install a Persian prince.¹⁰⁸ Such an move, however, would have been quite unacceptable not only to the Sassanians but also to the majority of Armenians. There is, indeed, no evidence to show that Hannibalianus was actually installed as king or that he even entered Armenia. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, he set up his headquarters at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and the phrase used by Aurelius Victor suggests the real extent of his appointment: *Armeniam nationesque circumsocias habuit*.¹⁰⁹ Explicit claim is made to Roman suzerainty over Armenia and the eastern marches in the face of renewed Persian attempts to gain control there. The title of *Rex Regum* is thus a wholly appropriate one for Hannibalianus, whose role was to safeguard all of the kingdoms and principalities of eastern Anatolia that were bound to Rome by treaty and, to a certain extent, by religion, while it also served as an effective slight on the majesty of the Persian 'king of kings'. This may, however, have only been a holding operation. For, if at the end of his reign Constantine really was planning to carry out the conquest of Persia, Hannibalianus may have been his choice as the Roman 'puppet' whom he intended to install on the Persian throne.¹¹⁰ Constantine's death in the spring of 337, however, precluded such an expedition and left unresolved the dispute with Persia over the mastery of both Mesopotamia and Armenia – a legacy inherited by his son Constantius II.¹¹¹

*Chronological Table of Armenian
Arsacid Kings*

Chosroes I	191–c. 215
Tiridates II	217–c. 252
[Persian interregnum]	252–79]
Chosroes II	279–87
Tiridates III	287–97
Tiridates IV	298–330
Chosroes III	330–(?)337

¹⁰⁷ *Origo* vi.35; Amm. Marc. xiv.1.2. ¹⁰⁸ Eadie (1967) 149; Hewsens (1978–9) 109–10.

¹⁰⁹ *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 335; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* xli.20.

¹¹⁰ Barnes (1985) 132. An alternative candidate would have been Hormizd, a brother of Shapur II, who had fled to the Romans in A.D. 324; Zos. ii.27; Amm. Marc. xvi.10.16; see Lieu (1986) 494.

¹¹¹ *Lib. Or.* lxx.60.

CHAPTER 16

THE ARABS AND THE DESERT PEOPLES

MAURICE SARTRE

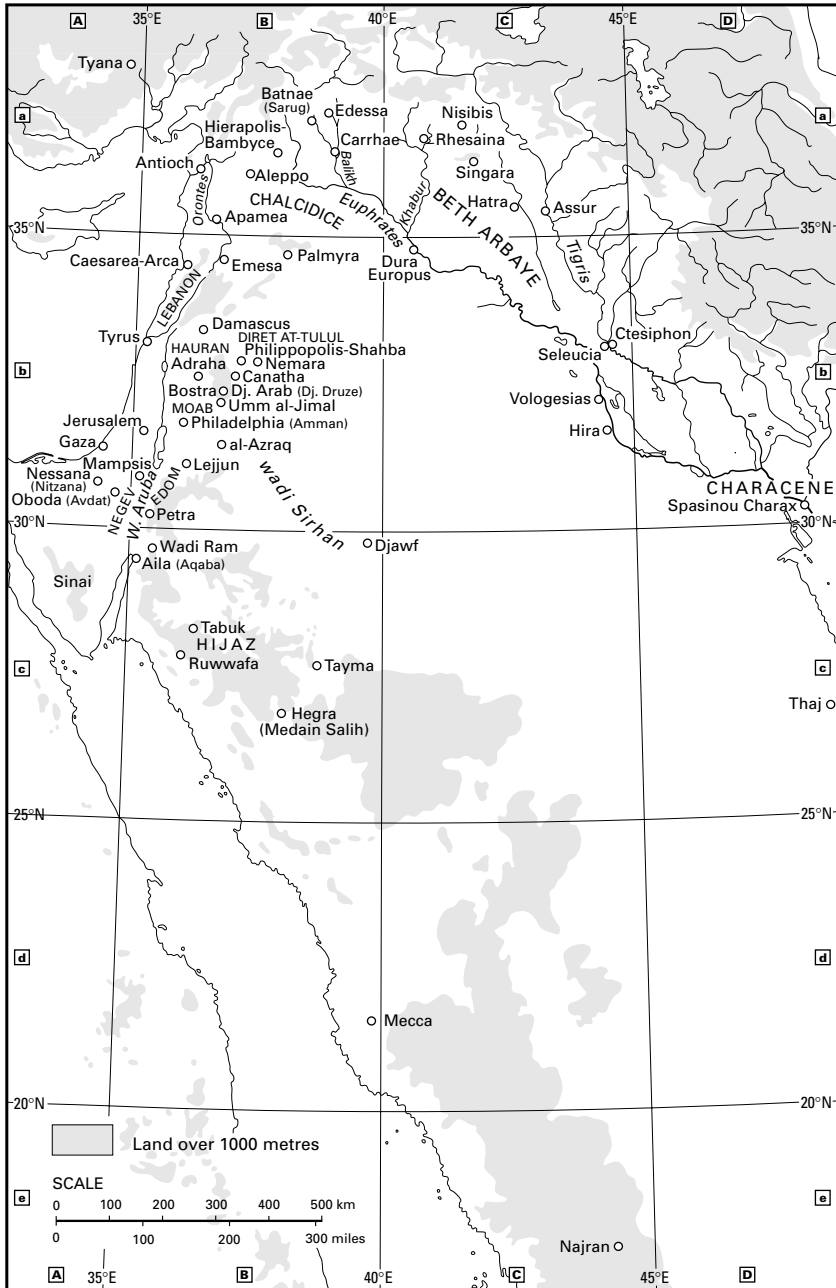
I. THE UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF ARAB SOCIETY

In modern times the Arabs are identified solely by means of a linguistic criterion. Their way of life is not important, since an Arab may be a sedentary agriculturalist, a herdsman, a craftsman or a caravan leader. For the ancients on the other hand, their way of life took priority over their language, and the name Arab designated above all the man who was capable of living in the desert, as a nomad or an inhabitant of an oasis. With this lifestyle was associated a social and political organization, in which the group, the tribe and the family played a crucial role. In these circumstances, *Arabia* was the name applied to any desert region, and *Arab* to any inhabitant of the desert, regardless of his actual ethnic origin. The Arabs for the ancients were those whom we today call Bedouins.

At the end of the second century the majority of the groups inhabiting the desert between the Antitaurus and the Red Sea were in fact Arabs in the modern sense. South of the Euphrates they were almost the only inhabitants, though some of the population of the oases may have been Aramaic (at Palmyra). On the other hand, north of the Euphrates at Edessa, Hatra or Assur, the Arabs were in a minority. Although they were distributed throughout the area, the dominant culture there was clearly Aramaic: the language, writing and a significant proportion of the names and cults are northern Aramaic (Edessene). Nevertheless the region was called *Arbayestan* by the Persians, *Beth Arbaye* by the Aramaeans, and *Arabia* by the Roman historians.¹ Despite certain differences due to their long occupation of the edge of the fertile crescent, the groups living in the deserts on the eastern fringes of the Roman empire formed a homogeneous whole.

They did not all live in the desert, however. A proportion of the Arabs – in the ethnic or linguistic sense of the term – became sedentarized. Sometimes these people occupied towns and villages on their own, as in Nabataea and Idumaea. In other cases a mingling of Aramaeans and Arabs took place: this was the case both in the towns on the edge of the Syro-Mesopotamian

¹ *SHA, Aurel.* 26; *Aur. Vict. Caes.* xxxv.3 (e.g.).



Map 8 The Arabs and the desert peoples

desert (Edessa, Hatra, Dura, Palmyra or Emesa) and in the countryside of the steppic border, such as the Hauran or Chalcidice. The effects of these varying environments must be borne in mind while we proceed to describe the different Arab groups to be found in the Middle East in the third and fourth centuries.

To the east and north of the Euphrates, in the steppe which extends south of the plains beyond the Taurus and to the west of the Tigris, Strabo mentions that already in the first century there were Scenite Arabs called *Malioi*,² but indicates that Armenians, Syrians and Arabs intermingled very frequently.³ Pliny was aware of the *Orroei* Arabs,⁴ in which the Syriac name of the Edessenes may be recognized, and the *Praetavi* Arabs⁵ as well. It is thus not without reason that ancient writers called this region *Arabia*, and that the rulers of Hatra styled themselves 'kings of the Arabs' from the time of Sanatruq I (c. 175/177).

Moreover, Arab elements are not lacking in the inscriptions and cults of upper Mesopotamia. At Hatra, alongside the Aramaic, Iranian or Greek names, are found names which are unquestionably Arab. At Edessa, the Abgarid dynasty was Arab. Arab cults are attested at Hatra (the eagle god Nasr) and at Edessa (the twins Monimos and Azizos).

Nevertheless the cultural setting was fundamentally Aramaic, more precisely northern Aramaic, i.e. Syriac. Edessene Aramaic, with its individual script, established itself in all upper Syria and upper Mesopotamia as far as Hatra and Assur in the course of the second century, although the oldest inscription dates from A.D. 6. A remarkable flourishing of Syriac culture occurred at Edessa in the Severan period in the heyday of Bardaisan.⁶ It would hence be absurd to regard Edessa as solely an Arab city, for its culture clearly owed very little to the nomadic Arabs of the region.

On the other hand the Arabs adopted not only the language and script, but also the majority of the cults of the Aramaic population of the region. All Semitic texts are in Aramaic, while none are in Arabic. The great triad of Hatra was composed of Hadad, Atargatis (the Lady) and Simios, and it is known that the Arabs frequented the sanctuary of Hierapolis-Bambyce in great numbers to venerate the Syrian goddess Atargatis there.⁷ There is nothing specifically Arab about the presence of Shamash at Hatra (which was called the city of Shamash on some coins), and the presence of Baalshamin is more reminiscent of inner Syria. Thus this rather composite Hatran civilization, grafting Iranian, Greek and Arab elements onto a flourishing Aramaic substratum, appears to have been the particular creation of the Arabs of Hatra.

² Strabo, XVI.1.27 (c748). ³ Strabo, I.2.34 (C41). ⁴ Pliny, *HN* v.24.20.

⁵ Pliny, *HN* v.24.21.

⁶ Drijvers (1966).

⁷ Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 10.

The names of the Arab groups who roamed over the area are not known to us. Strabo's precise and vivid description of the tent-dwelling Arabs organizing themselves into independent groups, and ransoming travellers for a modest fee, cannot be applied to the third century.⁸ In fact, right from the Severan period, all the groups were placed under the authority either of the Abgarids of Edessa or of the rulers of Hatra.

The wealth to be observed at Hatra and Edessa cannot be explained by stock-breeding and local agriculture alone. Trade routes between Babylonia, north Syria and Anatolia followed either the valley of the Euphrates in the south or the route through the plains of the northern Antitaurus; alternatively the middle route through Hatra was employed, various branches of which gave access to the northern cities such as Nisibis and Edessa.⁹

Only the nomads, however, could provide the means of transport, and ensure the safety (or lack of it) of the routes. Neither at Hatra nor Edessa have helpful caravan inscriptions been found, like those which inform us about the trade of Palmyra. Nevertheless, at least two texts [H.336 and H.343] associate the Arabs ('*arby*') – i.e. the Bedouin – with the Hatrans and other residents in official documents, showing that they did form a group at the heart of Hatran society. Did this apply only to pastoralists? It is difficult to imagine that the nomads did not play some role in the city's trade, as caravaners or providers of transport. The phenomenal development of the city, in evidence from the mid-second century, can hardly be accounted for save by the importance of revenues acquired through the passage of goods.

South of the Euphrates as far as the latitude of Damascus, Palmyra¹⁰ controlled the sweep of the desert and the steppe. The former haunt of the nomadic Aramaeans of the second millenium had become deeply 'arabized'. It is true that Aramaic remained the only written language, the indispensable tool of trade and exchanges in general. But onomastic studies reveal a strong Arab presence even within the governing elements. Moreover, alongside the local cults (Bêl), or those of Mesopotamia (Nabu) or Syria (Baalshamin), the Arab gods enjoyed considerable success: Allat, Manat, Azizos, Arsu, the Ginnaye and the Gad.

The prosperity of Palmyra during the first and second centuries attracted other Arabs, and helped to establish certain groups in the Palmyra region. Permanent encampments developed around water sources in northwest Palmyrena. These camel breeders were an essential element in the organization of the caravan trade, while the shepherds provided meat for the city's consumption; others still supplied the auxiliary troops in case of need.

⁸ Strabo, xvi.1.27–8 (c748). ⁹ Dillemann (1962) 176–88.

¹⁰ Cf. the inscriptions of Palmyra in Cantineau *et al.* (1930–75) (cited here as *Inv. Pal.*). This is not a corpus, and it is also necessary to refer to numerous scattered publications. Among the main ones are Cantineau (1933), (1936) and (1938); Dunant (1971); Gawlikowski (1975). But see now Hillers and Cussini (1996) (without translations).

The social organization of Palmyra and its commercial activities have been described in the previous volume. The peace which prevailed in the desert and the growing need for agricultural products of a city with poor land (despite Pliny's assertion)¹¹ helped to accelerate the sedentarization process. This is true as much in the steppe zones to the northwest of Palmyra as in Chalcidice, where the Roman forts were at the centre of the new villages.

Sedentary Arabs, living in cities or villages, had long been established in agricultural areas as well. This is the case with the Ituraeans who installed themselves around Caesarea Arca in north Lebanon, and who are still identifiable as Arabs through certain cults. Emesa in particular has the appearance of an Arab city. Its prosperity was certainly a recent event, and quite probably its foundation too. The base of the sedentary population was Aramaic, but the dynasty which governed the city until the Flavian period, and which continued to administer the sanctuary, was Arab. The great god of the city, Helios-Elahagabal, sun god and mountain god,¹² successfully preserved Arab characteristics both in his names and in his representations, as did his acolyte Arsu. The fame of the temple as well as the richness of the soil, well watered and irrigated thanks to the barrage lake constructed on the Orontes (doubtless in the Roman period) explain the development of the city in the second century. Its prosperity and its decline were, however, linked to those of Palmyra, whose caravans most often stopped at Emesa before reaching the Syrian ports. This solidarity between the two cities was strengthened when, some time after 212, their inhabitants took the double *gentilicium* of Iulii Aurelii, thus associating Julia Domna with Caracalla.

Deprived of the glories that had once brought the presence of the Syrian princesses at the head of the *domus divina*, Emesa became an insignificant city once it lost its role as a staging-post on the way from Palmyra to the sea. Libanius wrote at the end of the fourth century that it had ceased to be a 'city',¹³ and that it 'still sent embassies and crowns to the emperors, aware of its own poverty, but ashamed to fall from among the ranks of the cities'.¹⁴

The so-called Safaites¹⁵ did not possess their own urban centre, unlike the Arabs with whom we have so far been concerned. They frequented the neighbouring cities, such as Bostra, Canatha and Umm al-Jimal, but they were primarily pastoralists and only occasionally cultivators. They ranged over the steppe between the Diret al-Tulul in the north and the ravine of the Wadi Sirhan in the south, although isolated traces of their presence have been found in Palmyrena, the Anti-Lebanon range and on the Euphrates.

¹¹ Will (1985). ¹² Starcky (1975–6).

¹³ Lib. *Or.* xxvii, p. 42 (ed. Foerster). ¹⁴ Lib. *Ep.* 846.

¹⁵ The main collections of Safaitic inscriptions are: *CIS* v; Harding (1953); Winnett (1957); Oxtoby (1968); Winnett and Harding (1976). An explanation: Milik (1985). For the name 'Safaitic', see MacDonald (1993); Sartre (2001) 780–5.

The thousands of graffiti which they have left, in Arabic and written in a south Arabic alphabet, give few sure chronological indicators by which to date their presence in the area. Allusions to a Nabataean king and to the Roman presence establish with certainty that they were there in the first and second centuries, and it is possible that some graffiti refer to the Romano-Persian wars of the third century.

They thus still occupied a portion of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert and southern Syria in the third and fourth centuries, whether or not they had been absorbed by or affiliated to other tribal groups. Some in the Hauran became sedentarized and hellenized; indeed in the eastern part of the Hauran, substantial quantities of Arab names are found, generally belonging to so-called Safaites. Several tribal names and toponyms are also Safaitic. It may therefore be deduced that certain groups established themselves in the towns and villages, and there started to use (written) Greek.

The 'Safaite' economy continued to be based on pastoralism, nomadism in the desert. The breeding of sheep and goats, and principally of horses and camels, formed the mainstay of their resources. Pillaging raids took place, but should not be exaggerated: the 'Safaite' Arab was far from the major thoroughfares and Rome was vigilant. Razzias could only be undertaken when other 'Safaitic groups' were encountered, in order to rob them of their livestock. The numerous invocations of the gods (Lat and Ruda in particular, i.e. Allat and Arsu) in order that their devotees might obtain *ghnm* (profit) should be viewed as requests for prosperity in general (even if merely through the increase of herds) rather than exclusively as a hope for booty.

'Safaitic' society was centred around the family, whose antiquity the pastoralists recalled through long genealogies.¹⁶ The discovery of a sign left by an ancestor or the sight of his tomb occasioned fresh graffiti to mark his memory. The absence of any higher authority is shown up by the fragmentation of the numerous clans. Only a few groups, like that of the Awidh, appear more powerful, perhaps because of a privileged alliance with Rome. But the hypothesis can be inverted: might not their power be the reason that Rome chose them as allies?

From the Hauran as far as the oasis of Jawf, at Hegra and in the Sinai, the Nabataeans¹⁷ had for a long time been one of the most powerful and cohesive Arab groups. The disappearance of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 and the decline of the caravan trade passing through Petra brought about important changes in Nabataean society, but these are difficult to assess in the period under consideration.

¹⁶ Cf. *CIS* v.2646.

¹⁷ In the absence of a recent corpus of Nabataean inscriptions, it is necessary to refer to *CIS* II.2. Explanation for the Hauran: Starcky (1985).

The Nabataeans were not the only inhabitants of the former kingdom which became the Provincia Arabia. While the Arab element – among whom the Nabataeans dominated for the most part – constituted the majority of the inhabitants, or indeed the only inhabitants, in the Sinai, the Hijaz and Arabia Petraea, elsewhere it was mixed in with the sedentary populations, either Aramaic or Aramaicized. In the Hauran, the Nabataeans had always formed a minority: they had controlled the area politically, but had not colonized it in large numbers.¹⁸

The Arab character of the Nabataeans is clearly attested: for although they wrote in Aramaic in a script derived from the Aramaic of the empire, they continued to speak Arabic, which doubtless explains how their written language became arabicized as time progressed,¹⁹ up to the final stage represented by the Nemara inscription – an Arabic text in Nabataean script. The onomastics of the south are exclusively Arab, and that of the sedentary populations of the north are heavily arabized, as much in the cities such as Bostra and Philadelphia as in the villages.²⁰ At the same time ancestral cults were still held in honour throughout the area, even if the trend for the *interpretatio graeca* (which coincided with the decline of written Aramaic) led Doushara to be called Zeus and Allat Athena.²¹

Throughout the Provincia Arabia the sedentarization of the Arab groups advanced between the second and fourth centuries. The development of the villages of the southern Hauran (the Bostra plain and the area around Umm al-Jimal)²² entailed the fixing of populations, perhaps in part around the Roman military posts, but above all around major centres of rural development. At Umm al-Jimal, whose Arab character is clearly attested onomastically, the oldest inscriptions date from the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius,²³ and the period of the Severi,²⁴ but an important native settlement had existed there for a long time previously.²⁵ In the same way large numbers of Arab names are found on epitaphs in all the villages of the Bostra plain and in the arid plateau of Trachonitis, the majority of which date from the third and fourth centuries. In the villages in the mountains (the Jebel Druze and Jebel Arab) Arab clans settled alongside native populations of greater antiquity, while still retaining their own organization. The peace guaranteed by Rome from the first century suffices to explain the remarkable expansion of the villages throughout the region, but current studies do not allow the stages of rural development to be dated precisely. It is, however, certain that from the third century most of the villages of the Hauran, which included a substantial Arab

¹⁸ Sartre (2001) 785–7. ¹⁹ Cantineau (1934–5). ²⁰ Sartre (1985b). ²¹ Sourdel (1952).

²² Cf. Dentzer and Villeneuve (1985); Villeneuve (1985); Sartre (1987).

²³ *PAES* III.A, no. 232, from 177–80.

²⁴ *PAES* III.A, no. 274, from 195; no. 275, from 208; no. 276, from 223.

²⁵ De Vries (1986).

or arabized population, evolved and possessed their own autonomous institutions.²⁶

The process of sedentarization was not confined to the Hauran, but also took place in the whole steppic zone of the Provincia Arabia, from the Hauran to the Negev. The villages and small towns of the Transjordan underwent a substantial expansion by the third century at the latest. Large numbers of sites on the Edomite and Moabite plateaux were occupied during this period, having previously been either desert or abandoned settlements. In the Negev, the main cities founded during the last century of the Nabataean kingdom (Oboda, Mamphis, Nessana), which had survived the decline of trade movements between Petra and Gaza, enjoyed a revival from the fourth century. Throughout the area the Arab element, to judge from onomastic studies, was almost totally predominant. This phenomenon is starting to be observed even in the northern Hijaz, especially on the eastern bank of the gulf of Aila.²⁷

The political overlordship of the Nabataeans did not bring the autonomy of other Arab groups, like the so-called Thamudaeans, to an end. Thamudaeans graffiti are attested throughout the northern Hijaz, from Jawf to Hegra, and as far as the Wadi Ram, at Risqueh; they are never precisely dated, but many belong to the first five centuries A.D.²⁸

All the Arabs situated between the Taurus and the Sinai displayed common characteristics. While it is customary to stress their role in long-distance trade, on account of Palmyra and the Nabataeans, such activity was in fact limited and confined to only a few tribes.

The most characteristic activity of these societies remained sheep farming. This stock breeding, practised in the semi-arid zone next to the fertile crescent, rendered long migrations impossible. The association of pastoralists and cultivators appears as one of the foundations of the Arab societies, and it is wrong to emphasize their antagonism, which was only infrequent.²⁹ However, most of the time the relationship was fairly weak. The *tribus* of the *harra* (the 'Safaites') seem to have spent all their time in the desert like true nomads, rather than transhumants.

On account of their camel-based pastoralism, the Arabs were induced to play a part in the trade of the Near East; but in the third century neither Palmyra nor Petra had a decisive role in this field. It may be supposed, however, that the camel-owning Arabs of upper Mesopotamia had ensured the prosperity of Hatra before its destruction, and continued to lead the caravans bound for Edessa, Nisibis or Batnae.

In Palmyra the caravan trade is reckoned to have reached its peak in the period of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; in fact texts become more

²⁶ Sartre (2001) 773–9. ²⁷ Ingraham (1981). ²⁸ Sartre (2001) 785–6.

²⁹ Rowton (1976) and (1977); Rowton (1973); Banning (1986).

sparse after 160. Important caravan inscriptions do not disappear completely, however: they are still found in April 193, January 199, then in April 247, in 257/8 and in April 266 excluding a text not precisely dated, but which belongs after 212–14. This evidence is enough to demonstrate that Palmyrene merchants continued to frequent Vologaesias³⁰ and the trading-posts of Mesopotamia, despite the difficulties of the time: the texts make precise references to Bedouin incursions³¹ and the lack of security.³²

In Nabataea the decline of the passage of trade is attested by Strabo from the start of the first century.³³ The maintenance of caravans originating in the Arabian peninsula, and bound for Transjordanian and Syrian markets, was not enough to arrest this decline, but from the third or fourth centuries there may have been an export trade of wheat, wine, and textile and metallurgic products destined for the peninsula, like that which is attested a little later between Bostra and Mecca.

Moreover, the Arabs succeeded in finding employment elsewhere. In the Arabian desert east of the Nile, numerous Nabataean graffiti attest the passage of caravaneers:³⁴ evidently the Nabataeans followed the displacement of the caravan routes. Others took part in the mining developments in the Sinai (Nabataean graffiti from the third century in the Wadi Mukatteb and Wadi Haggag), and in the Wadi Araba, where the penal colony of Phaino was active at the end of the third century and beginning of the fourth.

Absent from this overview are the tribes of the Arabian peninsula proper, whose way of life in this period is but poorly known, though it is highly probable that they depended on stock breeding, like the other Arabs. It should be stressed that the Arab character of these desert peoples is everywhere firmly in evidence, even when they borrowed their language, their script and indeed certain cults, from their Aramaic neighbours. These borrowings decrease in importance from north to south and from west to east: they are negligible or non-existent among the Arabs who remained far from urban centres, such as the so-called Safaites and Thamudaeans. Furthermore, far from progressing, Aramaization actually declined, and a rise in arabization is evident, both among the non-Arab sedentary peoples (in the Hauran) and among the Arabs themselves; such was the case among the Nabataeans, whose written language became arabicized. The most important development was the emergence, for the first time, of the Arabs from domination by neighbouring civilizations to make their own mark on the population of the fertile crescent. This was only possible because their links with the more distant desert and Arabia (and the numerous tribes which inhabited it) had never been broken: on account of the necessary transhumant movements or through commercial exchanges, all the peoples of

³⁰ *Inv. Pal.* III.21. ³¹ *Inv. Pal.* X.44.

³² *Inv. Pal.* III.28; free passage cost the caravan nearly 300 gold *denarii*.

³³ Strabo, XVI.4.24 (c757). ³⁴ Littmann and Meredith (1953) and (1954).

the steppe and desert were in constant contact, despite the apparent disintegration of political organization. The major political transformations observable over the course of the third century would be incomprehensible in the absence of this social and cultural background.

II. THE APOGEE AND RUIN OF THE CLIENT STATES

The control of the Bedouin population of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert and the northern part of the Arabian peninsula presented a two-fold problem: on the one hand, how to keep watch over their movements and maintain order among them, and on the other, how to ensure that the power acquired by certain tribes was not directed against the empire and did not redound to the enemy's advantage. This matter became vital once the Arsacid dynasty was replaced by the more enterprising Sassanids.

To the north of the Euphrates, the principalities of Edessa and Hatra ensured the security of the surrounding desert. Having for a long time been within the Parthian orbit, they both turned their allegiance to Rome in the Severan period. Before the middle of the third century, the Sassanid reconquest brought about their disappearance.

South of the Euphrates, at Palmyra, a princedom developed from the mid-third century which for a long time took on the role of policeman and guardian of the eastern frontier alone. The revolt of Zenobia and the destruction of the city gave the Bedouin free range after 272, however, and forced Rome to develop other systems of relations with the Arabs of the desert.

I. *Edessa and the province of Osrohoene*

The Arab principality of Edessa was one of the most ancient of those on the far side of the Euphrates, originating when an Arab dynasty took control of the Greek city of Edessa (Semitic *Orrhai*) and the surrounding area. From the time of Avidius Cassius' siege in 165, Edessa had been in alliance with Rome: Ma'nu VIII officially held the title *Philorhomaioi*. The dynasty controlled not only the city and the villages, but also the Bedouin of the region placed under the charge of an *arabarchos*.³⁵

The simultaneous usurpations of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger put the Edessenes in an awkward position. Edessa, like the Hatraeans, wisely sided with the man who was closest, the governor of Syria, Niger. After his elimination, Severus turned against those who had supported his rival and who had perhaps taken advantage of the troubles to embark on a rapprochement with the Parthians.

³⁵ Segal (1970) 19.

Edessa was Severus' first target. In 195 the city was besieged and captured by the Roman troops. Severus did not suppress the client state, however; he created the province of Osrhoene, entrusted to a *procurator*, with the small principalities of Batnae and Carrhae, while he left Abgar in charge of his kingdom.³⁶ After Severus' next campaign in Mesopotamia, in 197–8, Abgar kept his privileged status as a client prince, and Severus bestowed on him the title 'king of kings'. A splendid reception in Rome sealed this reconciliation.³⁷

On the death of Abgar VIII the Great in 212, his son Abgar IX Severus succeeded him. As early as 213/14, however, Caracalla deprived him of his functions on the pretext of having mistreated his fellow citizens, and elevated Edessa to the status of a Roman *colonia* (January 214): such was the end of the Arab principality of Edessa. Yet the *Chronicon* of Dionysius of Tell Mahre mentions a Ma'nu IX ibn Abgar, who reigned from 214 to 240, and coins attest the existence of an Abgar X Frahad in 240–2. New parchments and papyri from the middle Euphrates testify that Ma'nu was only *pasgriba*, heir to the throne, but not king. But his son, L. Septimius Abgar (X), became king in 239 until spring 243. Abgar X was loyal to Gordian III, and sought refuge in Rome in 244 after the peace imposed on Philip the Arabian by Shapur I.³⁸ Following the temporary Sassanid conquest of 242 and the reconquest by Gordian III, Edessa recovered (by May 243 at the latest) its rank of *colonia*, in the hands of two *strategoi* under the authority of a resident Roman. Control of the city eluded the Arabs for a long time.

2. *Hatra and Mesopotamian Arabia*³⁹

The formation of an Arab principality in Upper Mesopotamia around Hatra certainly ranks among the most important events of the region in the second century. The peak of this principality was in the first half of the third century, however, before the Persians destroyed it in 240–241.

(a) *Hatra's opposition to Severan aggression*

Right at the outset of Pescennius Niger's usurpation, the king of Hatra Barsemias provided him with a contingent of archers. Consequently Severus laid siege to the city in 198 on account of this assistance given to his rival, and it was for a long time thought that it was on this occasion that Barsemias

³⁶ Wagner (1983); corrected by Gawlikowski (1998).

³⁷ Dio, LXXIX.16.2.

³⁸ Lorient (1975) 768 nn. 822–3; cf. Sartre (2001) 961–2.

³⁹ The Hatran inscriptions (H.), numbered continuously since the start of their publication, have been collected from H.1 to H.341 by Vattioni (1981). Later, H.343–4 were published by Khalil (1982); cf. Segal (1982) and H.345–87 by Al-Nagafi (1983); cf. Aggoula (1981), (1983a, b, c), (1985), (1986), (1987) and (1991), and Beyer (1998).

was replaced by Abdsamya [H.79, 223, 277]; the latter is named on several undated inscriptions, and known to be the father of Sanatruk II [H.195]. A more recent discovery [H.290], however, shows that Abdsamya was already king of Hatra in 192/3, and that he is therefore identical with Barsemias.

There does not seem to have been a dynastic tie with the family of Sanatruk I, the first ruler of Hatra to assume the royal title towards 175–7, though the re-emergence of the name Sanatruk in the heir of Abdsamya may indicate a blood relationship of some sort; but Abdsamya never indicates the name of his father, which may well reflect a disruption in the rightful line of succession. At the same time, sons of Sanatruk I, Nyhr' [H.198], Nsryhb [H.139, 198] and a grandson of the same name [H.139] do not bear any title. If there was a change of dynasty, it took place without violence: the statues in honour of members of the former ruling family stayed in place. Moreover, this dynastic change was unconnected with the Roman intervention, since it preceded it.

Although the king of Hatra had given concrete aid to Niger, while others had contented themselves with only vague promises, Severus did not consider the city as his primary objective. Our two sources give conflicting accounts, however. According to Herodian,⁴⁰ Severus besieged Hatra after having received the submission of the king of Armenia, and before marching against Ctesiphon. On the other hand, Cassius Dio places the first siege of Hatra after the taking of Ctesiphon,⁴¹ which fell on 28 January 198 according to the *Feriale Duranum* [1.14–16]; and he puts the second siege somewhat later,⁴² prior to Severus' arrival in Egypt at the opening of 199. It is hardly possible to reconcile these pieces of evidence, but about one thing they are in agreement: the siege, or sieges, were without success.

Despite this failure, Severus represented the siege of Hatra as one of the successes of his reign: panel IV of Septimius Severus' arch at Rome depicts the siege of Hatra.⁴³ The military failure described by Herodian and Cassius Dio had a positive political and diplomatic outcome which they pass over in silence: the entry of Hatra into an alliance with Rome.

(b) The alliance with Rome and the ruin of Hatra

Three Latin dedications from Hatra bear witness to the presence of Roman detachments at Hatra in 235 and under Gordian III. Sir Aurel Stein pointed out the numerous Roman *castella* to the east of the city, facing the Persian enemy. A milestone of Severus Alexander, dated to 231/32, 5 kilometres from Singara, favours the dating of the reinforcement works carried out on the *limes* to this period. Around this time (perhaps as early as the siege of 198 unless we delay the date to the campaign of Caracalla in 217), Hatra entered into the empire, while still preserving its autonomous royal government

⁴⁰ Herod. III.9.2–7.

⁴¹ Dio, LXXV.10–11.

⁴² Dio, LXXV.11–12.

⁴³ Rabin (1975).

(on the model of what is observable at Edessa), and became allied to Rome against the Parthians. This alliance is attested by the coinage of Hatra, which was henceforth minted with the symbol *SC* surrounded by an eagle with outspread wings. Furthermore, a statue of Sanatruk II bears a breastplate decorated with Hercules, protector of the imperial family, beside a young god identifiable with *brmryn*, the dynastic god of Hatra.⁴⁴

This period of Roman presence coincides with the reign of Sanatruk II, the last king of Hatra, attested in October 231 [H.229] and in 237/8 [H.36], but who could have come to power earlier. His son and heir bore the name of his grandfather [H.28, 36, 287]. A second son, M'n' [H.79, 201], seems to have wielded authority around 235 over 'Arabia of W'l' [H.79], which refers to the region of Sumatar Arabesi, to the southeast of Edessa. The kings of Hatra had thus extended their authority to this area, which in the second and third centuries had been under local dynasts (*shyr'*) controlled by Edessa, and which through the disappearance of the Abgarids had been delivered into their hands.

It is difficult to work out the precise extent of Sanatruk II's authority. The Arab writer 'Adi ibn Zayd, quoted by Tha'libi (A.D. 1035), referring to the power of the kings of Hatra, exclaimed: 'Where is the man of Hadr (Hatra), he who built this citadel and who received the tribute of the lands washed by the Tigris and the Khabur?' May we infer from this that he was the only ruler of this whole area, defined thus? This is doubtful, for the provincial authorities of Mesopotamia must be borne in mind. Nevertheless, the presence of a son of Sanatruk as governor of Sumatar shows that the power of the king of Hatra was able to reach far to the west. In fact, we should not attempt to define administrative boundaries; Sanatruk II reigned over Hatra and probably over the nomadic Arabs of the region, his son deputizing among the Arabs of W'l. The Roman administration, for its part, oversaw the sedentary peoples of the north (Nisibis and Carrhae) and south (Dura Europus), as well as the roads and a certain number of military posts (Singara, Rhesaina).

This power structure need not indicate a weakening of Sanatruk's power: in exchange for his alliance with the Romans, he found himself at the head of all the Roman Arabs of the Euphrates and upper Mesopotamia. His power and prestige were reinforced among the people of the desert: hence the Arab legends which make him the builder of Hatra (Hadr) arose. For it is equally he, the last and most powerful of the kings of Hatra, as much as Sanatruk I, the first bearer of the royal title, who is designated by the name Satirun, the legendary hero.

The alliance between Hatra and Rome brought about the fall of the city. Shortly after 227, it suffered its first Persian attack, proof that from this

⁴⁴ Safar (1961) 10.

time it was Rome's ally. It was during the course of another campaign, between 12 April 240 and 1 April 241 that Hatra was taken. After that, it was quickly abandoned: no inscription dated after 240 survives. When Ammianus Marcellinus passed by Hatra in 364, he saw only abandoned ruins.⁴⁵

The fall of Hatra, following in the wake of the capture of Nisibis and Carrhae in 238, marked a vital stage in Persia's gaining control of Mesopotamian Arabia. One of the guardians of the desert had disappeared, facilitating the movements of the tribes who were beginning to emerge, and who would soon afterwards bring about a very different organization of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert.

3. *Palmyra*

Unlike Hatra or Edessa, Palmyra had been part of the Roman empire from the start of the first century. The city was a peregrine city, a *polis*, of the Roman province of Syria, which had enjoyed great economic prosperity in the second century, as well as remarkable urban and architectural development.

During the Severan period decisive changes for Palmyra took place. The economic and monetary crisis which struck the empire may have caused a reduction in demand for the luxury products that had made the city's fortune. Not all long-distance trade disappeared in the third century, however, which accounts for a certain amount of prosperity in Syria during this period. The revival of war affected trading contacts far more: first the civil war between Niger and Septimius Severus, then between Severus and the Parthians and later their allies. In Mesopotamia, in the valley of the Euphrates and the desert, a sense of insecurity once more prevailed everywhere. The weakening of the empires left the roads unguarded. Severus' campaigns against Edessa and Hatra, then those of Caracalla and Macrinus, followed by the Parthian counter-offensive, only further aggravated the situation. Moreover, the financial burden for these campaigns fell for the most part on the nobles of the cities of the east, natural clients for the products imported by Palmyra.

The disappearance of the Arsacids and the emergence of the Sassanids added to the problems. It is open to doubt whether the Sassanids intended right from the start to reconquer the whole of the Achaemenid empire, as Herodian claims;⁴⁶ but the immediate attack launched by the Persians against Rome is incontrovertible, and could have been viewed as inaugurating a long period of confrontation. On a more concrete level, in 226 Ardashir annexed Characene, which could well have had an impact on Palmyrene trade: the merchants of Palmyra had regularly frequented Spasinou Charax

⁴⁵ Amm. Marc. xxv.8.

⁴⁶ Herod. vi.2.2; Kettenhofen (1984b).

during the second century, but its name disappears from inscriptions of the following century.

(a) *From city to principality*

In this less favourable economic climate, the political situation at Palmyra changed. Having long been endowed with the institutions of a Greek city of the east, Palmyra received from Caracalla the title of *colonia* with the *ius italicum*⁴⁷ between 213 and 216, proof that the city had not ceased to belong to the empire. These civic institutions continued to function until the destruction of the city. Before the middle of the century, however, one family acquired the ascendancy to such an extent that Palmyra took on the appearance more of an Arab principedom than a city state.

An inscription recently discovered at Palmyra has necessitated a reconsideration of the origins of the Palmyrene dynasty.⁴⁸ Previously it was believed that the founder of the dynasty was a Septimius Odenathus (I), who was the builder of the family tomb [*Inv. Pal.* VIII.55] and whose son was Septimius Hairan, *exarchos* of the Palmyrenes in 251. It was thus not until 257–8 that Odenathus (II), brother or son of Hairan – he never indicates his relationship – appeared in charge of Palmyra with the title of *consularis*. But the new text shows that Odenathus (II) also held the title of *exarchos* of the Palmyrenes as early as April 252 and that the genealogy – son of Hairan, son of Wahballat, son of Nasor – which was thought to be that of Odenathus (I) actually belongs to him. It is therefore certain now that Odenathus, father of the *exarchos* Septimius Hairan, is none other than king Odenathus, and that the *exarchos* Hairan is identical with Hairan-Herodian-Herod, eldest son of Odenathus, associated with his father as *exarchos* and as king of kings. This simple solution has the advantage of taking into account all the available documents without difficulty.

Odenathus was the descendant of a family which acquired the Roman citizenship under Septimius Severus, and his father or grandfather was the first to benefit, if it is accepted that Odenathus was born about 220 or a little before. This privilege does not seem to have been linked to any particular powers in Palmyra, however, and merely testifies to the distinction of the family.

It is only from 251 that dated documents commence, which allow a history of the princes of Palmyra to be reconstructed, albeit with substantial gaps. In October 251 at the latest, Septimius Odenathus and his son Septimius Hairan – whom the *Historia Augusta* calls Herod, and many Greek texts of Palmyra call Herodian (the identification of the three remains controversial) – together hold the title *ras Tadmor*, '*exarchos* of the Palmyrenes'. The title is first attested for the son (*Inv. Pal.* III.16), then

⁴⁷ *D. L.* 15.1.5.

⁴⁸ Gawlikowski (1985); Sartre (2001) 971–9.

in April 252 for the father (a new text), but this chronological order is only due to the randomness of finds. It is not known what event gave rise to such a promotion. If the promotion is dated to 251, it may have been a first attempt at semi-independence which took advantage of the troubles following the death of Decius in June 251. The title was ephemeral, however, and does not reappear in any later text.

In 257–8 many texts accord Odenathus the title *ho lamprotatos hypatikos*,⁴⁹ while Hairan is only *ho lamprotatos*. Other undated texts employ the same titles, and almost certainly belong to the same years.⁵⁰ Unlike the title *ras Tadmor*, which Odenathus and his son bestowed on themselves, that of *consularis* – borne only by the father – could only have been granted by the emperor; but this title need not imply that Odenathus received charge of Syria–Phoenicia.⁵¹

Odenathus, concerned for his city's interests, made offers of an alliance to Shapur at an unknown date,⁵² perhaps in the wake of one of the occasions when Dura Europus was captured, the indispensable trading-post of Palmyrene commerce. At the time of the revival in the Romano-Persian war in 259, however, he fought in Babylonia, and after the capture of Valerian at Edessa (in 259 or 260) he attacked and defeated the Persian troops on their way home. It was doubtless on this occasion that Odenathus took the title 'king of kings', to which he quickly associated his son Hairan–Herodian (*Inv. Pal.* III.31). The following year he defeated the usurpers Quietus and Ballista at Emesa.

Defender of Syria against the Persians and victor against usurpers detrimental to the stability and prosperity of the provinces, Odenathus appeared as a loyal defender of the empire's interests. Yet relations between Gallienus and Odenathus were by no means straightforward.

On the one hand, Gallienus, occupied in Italy and on the Danube, had no means of intervening in the east in the early 260s. Odenathus took on the role of an indispensable auxiliary, and Gallienus treated him as such: after the Palmyrene's victory, Gallienus became *Persicus Maximus*. In exchange, he may have confirmed Odenathus in the titles he had usurped, which, being non-Roman, could not cause offence to the emperor. Following the new victories of Odenathus outside Ctesiphon in 262, and then in 267 or 268, Gallienus was even able to bestow on him the title *mtqnn' dy mdhnh' klh* (*Inv. Pal.* III.19, dated August 271, and therefore posthumous), in Greek *epanorthōtēs* (rather inaccurately translated into Latin as *Corrector Totius Orientis*). This has the appearance more of a triumphal epithet than of a name of a specific command.⁵³ Gallienus did not, however, concede to any

⁴⁹ *Inv. Pal.* III.17 (April 258); XII.37 (257/8); Seyrig (1963) 161 (a dedication of curriers) (257/8); Dunant (1971) 66 no. 52.

⁵⁰ Seyrig (1963) 161 (dedication of Wōrod). ⁵¹ *Contra*: Gawlikowski (1985) 261.

⁵² Petrus Patricius, *fr.* 10 (*FHG* IV. 187). ⁵³ Swain (1993).

sharing of his power, and it is certain that Odenathus never held the title of Augustus, which Gallienus supposedly conferred on him⁵⁴ or which he is alleged to have assumed after his victory over Quietus and Ballista.⁵⁵

On the other hand, Odenathus behaved as a sovereign prince. He had no compunction about sending an embassy to Shapur, who was at war against Rome, in order to look after Palmyra's interests. He also challenged Shapur by conferring on himself and his son the title 'king of kings'. Furthermore, he behaved in a quasi-imperial way in authorizing the nobles of his entourage – the generals and the governor of the city – to add the *gentilicium* Septimius to their name, thus creating a veritable court. Gallienus was doubtless not unaware of the significance of this gesture. In fact the assassination of Odenathus and Hairan at Edessa between 30 August 267 and 29 August 268, though shrouded in uncertainty (several different versions are known), may well have been the product of a plot involving a Roman official, Rufinus, and the complicity, or at any rate the tacit approval, of Gallienus himself.⁵⁶ Moreover, shortly after this assassination, an expedition officially launched against the Persians was cut to pieces by the Palmyrenes, who were under no illusions as to the real destination of the expeditionary corps. The death of Odenathus provided the opportunity for taking over an important frontier zone, profiting from the (at any rate apparent) power vacuum, since the eldest of Odenathus' surviving sons was scarcely more than ten years old.

(b) *The Palmyrene east*⁵⁷

The accession of Zenobia and her son Vaballathus marked not so much a change in the policies of the princes of Palmyra as a further decline in Romano-Palmyrene relations. The ambiguity survived for a time: Vaballathus contented himself initially with the titles inherited from his father, *illustrissimus rex regum*, *epanorthôtēs*. He had milestones erected in his name, without the imperial title. Upon the death of Claudius II in the summer of 270, however, he refused to recognize Quintillus, and took the titles of *consul*, *dux Romanorum* and *imperator*, while still holding back from proclaiming himself Augustus, his Alexandrine coinage displays his name, but the image is that of Aurelian. What was intended as a gesture of conciliation by Zenobia was already viewed as an outright usurpation by Aurelian (Vaballathus is absent from the consular *Fasti*). The conquest of Syria in 270, and that of Arabia and Egypt in the winter of 270/1, as well as a part of Anatolia at the same time, clearly transformed the princes of Palmyra into open rivals of Aurelian. In the summer or winter of 271 Vaballathus finally took the title of Augustus and Zenobia that of Augusta.

⁵⁴ *SHA, Gall.* 12.4. ⁵⁵ *SHA, Tyr. Trig.* 15.5.

⁵⁶ Gawlikowski (1985) 259. ⁵⁷ Cf. ch. 2 above.

Vaballathus was not the first Arab to assume the purple. Apart from Philip the Arabian, who was a native of the village of Shahba in the Hauran, the adventurer Uranius Antoninus⁵⁸ should be remembered: he constitutes an almost exact precursor of the princes of Palmyra, albeit on a rather smaller scale. This native of Emesa, related to the ancient dynasty of the Samp-sigerami, and perhaps a priest of al-Uzza/Aphrodite, scored a victory over Shapur in autumn 253 (if *IGLS* IV.1799–1801 refers to this battle), and then proclaimed himself Augustus (coinage attested 253–4). In the confusion which confronted the troops of the various imperial pretenders, it may have seemed to Antoninus that this was the best means to mobilize all the Roman forces of Syria against the Persian invader, and to confer legitimacy on his own actions. The conclusion of this adventure is unknown, save that Antoninus disappeared; but it may be supposed quite plausibly that the same sequence of events was repeated with Vaballathus. De facto placed at the head of the imperial troops, he usurped the imperial title when it appeared to have fallen through lack of heirs to Quintillus, then tried to have himself associated as Aurelian's deputy (Egyptian documents dated to Vaballathus and Aurelian). While the role of personal ambition should not be overlooked, the political and strategic motives behind this usurpation must also be considered; but Aurelian rejected all compromise.

Without delay, he embarked on the reconquest of the area. After an initial defeat at Tyana, then at Immae near Antioch, and finally at Emesa, the Palmyrene troops sought refuge in Palmyra itself. Zenobia, fleeing eastwards, was soon captured, while the city fell bloodlessly to the Roman army in spring 272. It was only a few months (?) later that Aurelian had the city razed to the ground, as a result of the revolt of Aspaëus; although the city survived as a small town for many centuries.⁵⁹ For unlike Hatra, Palmyra was not abandoned. Diocletian installed a legion there, in the western part of the city, and new baths were constructed. In 328 columns were once again erected in the main street. A few late Christian *stelae* and the presence of a bishop from the start of the fourth century confirm the survival of a modest settlement. But the city which had once been the focus of the eastern trade routes, the capital of the desert, was long dead.

III. PHYLARCHS AND ALLIED NOMAD KINGS

The disappearance of the sedentary Arab states and dynasties which had controlled the nomadic Arabs of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert forced Rome to find new means to guarantee the safety of the empire along the frontiers. Other tribes or groups of tribes were now offered the opportunity to fill the space left vacant by the collapse of the ancient princedoms.

⁵⁸ Baldus (1971).

⁵⁹ Will (1966).

Direct relations between Rome and the allied nomad tribes had existed for a long time. Indeed, on the frontier of the Provincia Arabia, no native administrative units had been retained or left in place, apart from a few regroupings of tribes. At first Rome directly watched over the desert as far as the distant oases of Jawf and Hegra; but towards the end of the third century, a withdrawal from the most advanced posts took place at the same time as a reinforcing of the defensive line on the edge of the sedentary lands. In this new set-up, the allied Arab tribes were induced to replace the Roman troops of the desert.

1. Allied tribes and confederations

Two sectors have furnished documents concerning direct relations between Rome and the nomad tribes: the eastern Hauran, where the 'Safaites' lived, and the north of the Hijaz, where Rome held control over the Thamudic groups.

In the eastern Hauran the so-called 'Safaites' had preserved a strong tribal organization. Several Greek inscriptions, found in the villages of the northern Jebel Druze, which were visited by the pastoralists, show that the nomads provided contingents commanded by their own chiefs; these were accorded the titles '*strategos* of the nomads', '*strategos* of the nomad encampments', 'ethnarch' or 'phylarch' by the Romans.⁶⁰ These texts are dated to the second half of the second century and the third century. Onomastics allow us to be certain that these were indeed 'Safaites', and one text confirms this explicitly: an Odenathus, son of Sawad, is termed 'phylarch' and '*strategos* of the Awidh', a well-attested tribe from the *harra*.⁶¹

It is thus likely that in this region far from the Parthian, and later Persian, invasion routes, Rome had cemented privileged alliances with the heads of the most powerful tribes, in order that they might control, perhaps in conjunction with the Roman garrisons, the nomadic tribes or those practising transhumance in the region.

In the north of the Hijaz, the situation is parallel. Rome felt no threat in this sector throughout the second century: there were few Roman military posts in the steppe zone crossed by the *Via Nova Traiana* between Philadelphia, Petra and Aila, at least until the period of the Severi. On the other hand, there were garrisons stationed in far-flung oases such as Hegra and Dumat al-Jandal/Jawf or in the centres where the nomads assembled, like the Nabataean sanctuary of the Wadi Ram. The only means of controlling the movements of tribes was to negotiate with their chiefs and, in response to excessive fragmentation, Rome was able to encourage regroupments in order to create federations, such as that attested at Ruwwafa in the north of

⁶⁰ Sartre (1982) 122–8.

⁶¹ Harding (1969).

the Hijaz, around 166–9: the Roman governors of the province of Arabia are thanked for having re-established harmony among the nomads, who marked their gratitude by building a sanctuary of the imperial cult to serve as the rallying point of the confederation (Greek *ethnos*, Nabataean *sherkat*); but, maybe, these were only Roman troops recruited from the Arab tribes.

Similar alliances may have existed elsewhere. They worked well as long as the political situation was stable, i.e. as long as the allied tribes were not put under pressure by more powerful groups eager to plant themselves on the borders of the empire. They did not always prevent the incursions of looters, however: in 190/1 the Sinai fell prey to plundering Arabs.

2. *The rise of Tanukh*⁶²

Reliable Arab traditions state that the Arabs allied to Rome were successively Gadhima, the princes of Palmyra, Lakhm, Tanukh, Salih and Ghassan. While the last two are well attested in the fifth and sixth centuries, the first four belong to the third and fourth. The difficulties in interpreting and making use of the Arab sources have long prompted historians either to dismiss or to ignore these traditions. Epigraphic and archaeological discoveries now demand that greater attention be paid to this information and they confirm the picture handed down by the Arab authors, at least with regard to the order of succession.

The authenticity of one of these kings has been confirmed by an inscription of Umm al-Jimal which mentions the '*trophæus* of Gadhima, king of Tanukh'.⁶³ This was a nomadic tribe of the northeast part of the Arabian peninsula, before it established itself in Syria, perhaps to the southeast of Aleppo, in Chalcidice. It is not possible, solely on the basis of these pieces of information (the funeral *stèle* of a *praeceptor* and a list of sites occupied by the tribe around 630–5), to determine where Gadhima wielded power in the mid-third century. Archaeological confirmation of the struggle between the Palmyrenes and Tanukh, mentioned by the Arab traditions, may have been found, however. For it appears that an important native settlement at Umm al-Jimal, to the southeast of the late Roman city, was utterly destroyed in the course of the third century. It is tempting to see in this the vengeance of the Palmyrenes against one of the bases, or even one of the places of residence, of their Tanukhid adversaries.⁶⁴

The disappearance of the Banu-Odenathus of Palmyra left the Syrian desert free. The need for an efficient policing force was felt, since insecurity was on the rise even before the fall of Palmyra. The Arabian frontier, which had remained almost untouched by military installations through the second century, underwent a period of active construction of fortlets

⁶² Shahid (1984) 349–417; Caskel (1966).

⁶³ *PAES* IV.A no. 41.

⁶⁴ De Vries (1986) 237–8.

and watchtowers under the Severi, especially in the sector to the north of the Transjordan,⁶⁵ while the cities (e.g. Bostra and Adraha) set about rebuilding their ramparts.⁶⁶ These measures were not directed solely against Palmyra (which could hardly have been viewed as an enemy before the end of the 260s) and were surely intended rather to counter possible raids of Arab nomads, whether of those living in the Arabian desert hoping to take advantage of the troubles in Syria or primarily of tribes in the pay of the Persians. Indeed, at quite an early stage, a descendant of the Edessene dynasty, 'Amr ibn 'Adi, had come to establish himself in lower Mesopotamia, at Hira, and had entered the service of the Sassanids.

The power of Gadhima could thus be employed as a bulwark against these threats. On account of the lack of official Roman documents, the exact status of the king of Tanukh is unknown. He was doubtless a *foederatus*, like the barbarians on the Rhine and Danube frontiers. His title of 'king' marked his pre-eminence over the other Arab sheikhs. The structure of the tribal group of which he had charge is unclear, but it may be conjectured that Tanukh must be the name of the dominant tribe among a larger group, that of the Quda'a, to which other less powerful tribes attached themselves. The nebulous Tanukh could thus have an impact on areas some distance from each other, though there is no evidence to support the notion that they dominated all the Arab tribes of the region. Other groups may have benefited from a similar status in other sectors of the Syro-Mesopotamian and Arabian deserts, as also in the area beyond the Euphrates and the Hijaz and Sinai.

Moreover, the Arabs contributed to the defence of the frontier by providing the bulk of the men for the numerous native units mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Several are specifically designated as Arab: the *equites Saraceni Thamudeni* and the *cohors secunda Ituraeorum*; but the majority of the *equites sagittarii indigenae*, the *equites promoti indigenae* and *dromedarii* were quite likely Arab as well.

Diocletian's reorganization of the frontier defences had to take into consideration these new relations with the nomad Arabs. The distant posts (Hegra, Dumat al-Jandal) seem to have been abandoned by their Roman units, which by no means implies a loss of sovereignty. But the guarding of the desert regions was entrusted to the nomad allies nonetheless. On the other hand, a substantial reinforcing of the defensive works on the edges of the steppe may be observed in the *strata Diocletiana* between the Euphrates, Palmyra, Damascus and the eastern Hauran, and in the line of forts and camps discovered between the oasis of Azraq and Aila as well as in the north of the Sinai; the legion X Fretensis was also transferred to Aila, and the IV Martia stationed at Lejjun (Moab). All these measures were part of

⁶⁵ Parker (1986) 130–1.

⁶⁶ Pflaum (1952); *IGLS* XIII.9105–6 and 9108–9.

the attempt to set up a defence next to the non-desert zones of the Syrian provinces, while the steppe and the desert were entrusted to the Arab allies alone.

3. *The supremacy of Imru' al-Qays*

In 328 Imru' al-Qays b. 'Amr, 'king of all the Arabs', died. His epitaph, written in Arabic in Nabataean script, presents serious problems of interpretation not only on account of the variant readings, but also because the classical sources are silent on the events recorded by it.⁶⁷ In contrast to the Arab traditions, it nevertheless provides first-hand information of primary importance.

Imru' al-Qays was the son of the Lakhmid 'Amr ibn 'Adi, the founder of Hira. At the time of his death he was in Roman service, since his tomb is situated at Nemara, in the steppic zone which lies on the border of the Roman province of Arabia, a site which was the post of a Roman garrison. He in any case declares that his authority came from Rome. Yet at the same time he prides himself on governing certain communities under Persian control. Did he change his allegiance during his reign? This is quite possible, even though the motives for this shift of camp are not known: he may have converted to Christianity, or have had a disagreement with Shapur II. Alternatively, during the period of peace between the Persians and Romans, Imru' al-Qays may have succeeded in extending his authority over tribes to the east as well as the west of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert. He is at any rate proud to have subjugated tribes living a long distance apart from one another: the two groups of Azdites and the Nizar of northeastern Arabia (he campaigned against the powerful city of Thaj), the Madhhig, beaten at the oasis of Najran in the southwest of the peninsula, and the Ma'add in the Hijaz.⁶⁸ Did he do this for his own ends, or for the Persians (e.g. in the context of Shapur II's expedition against Arabia), or for the Romans? It is a matter only for hypotheses, though these successes certainly justify his title of 'king of all the Arabs'. Imru' al-Qays thus headed not only Lakhm, but also numerous other tribes, including the sedentary communities, whom he placed in the charge of his sons.

Despite the power of Imru' al-Qays, there may have been other groups allied to Rome, not subordinated to his authority. Regarding Tanukh, the Arab traditions make Gadhima the maternal uncle of 'Amr ibn 'Adi, and therefore the great-uncle of Imru' al-Qays. The mother of this last, Mawiyya, was an Azdite, as was his wife, Hind; this was a clan which was affiliated to Tanukh and subjugated by Imru' al-Qays. Hence Imru' al-Qays could legitimately take up the inheritance of Gadhima in the same way;

⁶⁷ Beeston (1979).

⁶⁸ Zwettler (2000).

following his death, other Tanukhids could have taken his place without this entailing a confrontation or a split. At any rate, the Arab sources date the start of the Tanukhid domination over the Arab *foederati* from the death of Imru' al-Qays; this was to last throughout the fourth century, until they too were replaced by the Salih at the end of the century.

By 337 the political, social and economic situation of the Arabs of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert had changed markedly. Pastoralist activities were of far greater importance than their role as intermediaries for trade. The former sedentarized clans, while not having altogether disappeared, no longer had the same predominance as before and left the reins of government in the hands of the newcomers: these had emerged from the peninsula more recently, and were without the links to the Graeco-Roman and Aramaic cultures which had distinguished their predecessors. On the other hand, the policy of protection by means of client states, inherited from the Julio-Claudian period, gave way to agreements with groups which had remained essentially nomadic, whose military power was used as well as their network of alliances, in order to secure the safety of the frontiers. This system was backed up, moreover, by a considerable strengthening of the fortifications. It allowed Roman influence to extend right to the heart of the peninsula, with the disadvantage that it relied exclusively on the loyalty of the allies (which was expensive) and demanded a constant re-evaluation of their might. As soon as an allied tribe lost its influence, or suffered a serious reverse, its privileged position was jeopardized, since it was no longer able to fulfil the function which justified its privileges. These advantages (especially the *annona*) were judged sufficiently desirable to give rise to constant feuds and to numerous attempts on the part of poorer tribes to unseat the group in charge. The risk of instability, aggravated by Sassanid diplomacy, thus became endemic.

CHRONOLOGY

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
192 Death of Commodus (31 December). Pertinax proclaimed emperor			
193 Murder of Pertinax (28 March). Julianus declared emperor, but put to death on 1 June. Accession of Septimius Severus	193 Severus declares D. Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, Caesar	193 C. Pescennius Niger proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions	
		194 Niger is defeated on the plain of Issus (April). Severus crosses the Euphrates (c. September)	
	195 Albinus declared emperor in Britain. He sets up his capital in Lyon		
	197 Severus defeats Albinus near Lyon (19 February). Death of Albinus. Severus returns to Rome (June)	197–202 Severus campaigns in the east	197 Tertullian's <i>Apologeticum</i>
198 Caracalla (Caesar 196) proclaimed Augustus		198 Capture of Ctesiphon 199–201 Severus in Egypt	before 198 Papinian's <i>Quaestiones</i>
	202 Severus returns to Rome from the east and celebrates his <i>decennalia</i>		202 Enforcement of regulations against Christians
	203 Consulship of C. Fulvius Plautianus and P. Septimius Geta. The lawyer Papinian is praetorian prefect		203 Dedication of the arch of Septimius at Rome. Origen succeeds Clement as head of the Catechetical School. The <i>Passio</i> of Perpetua and Felicitas
	203–4 Severus in Africa		after 204 Papinian's <i>Responsa</i>
	204 Secular games at Rome		205 Birth of Plotinus
	205 Consulship of Caracalla and Geta. Murder of Plautianus		

- 206 First consulship of Cassius Dio
206–7 Bulla Felix active in Italy
208 Severus leaves Rome for Britain
- 209 Geta (Caesar 198) proclaimed Augustus
- 211 Death of Severus in York (4 February). Succeeded by Caracalla and Geta. Following the murder of Geta, Caracalla becomes sole emperor (26 December)
- 211 Murder of Papinian, possibly on the same day as Geta
- 213 Caracalla campaigns successfully against the Alamanni
- 214–17 Caracalla in the east, accompanied by his mother. He invades Parthia in 215, spends the winter of 215–16 at Antioch, then advances to the eastern borders of Adiabene
- 215 Massacre at Alexandria
- 217 Asassination of Caracalla near Carrhae (8 April). Macrinus becomes emperor, but is defeated in battle by supporters of Elagabalus and put to death (8 June 218)
- 217 Macrinus begins a campaign against the Parthians
- 218 Ardashir becomes king of Persia
208–213 Parthian succession disputed between Vologaes V and Artabanus V. Artabanus is eventually confirmed as king of Parthia
- 212 Caracalla issues the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, universalizing Roman citizenship
- 215 Issue of *Antoninianus* silver coinage

(cont.)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
218 Elagabalus proclaimed emperor at Raphanea (16 May)		218 Macrinus agrees a dishonourable peace with Artabanus V (summer) 218–19 Elagabalus winters at Nicomedia	
	219 Elagabalus arrives in Rome (late summer) 220 Consulship of Elagabalus and Comazon		after 219 Cassius Dio completes his <i>History</i>
221 Elagabalus adopts his cousin, Alexianus, as Caesar, under the name of Marcus Aurelius Alexander (26 June)			
222 Elagabalus and his mother are murdered (13 March). His cousin succeeds him, taking the name of Severus Alexander	222 The lawyer Ulpian is <i>praefectus annonae</i> , and subsequently praetorian prefect 223 Murder of Ulpian		
		224 Artabanus V defeated and killed in battle by Ardashir	224 Philostratus' <i>Lives of the Sophists</i> c. 225 Death of Tertullian c. 225–30 The Ludovisi battle-sarcophagus
		226 Ardashir crowned king of kings of Iran	
	229 Second consulship of Cassius Dio	230 Persians under Ardashir invade Mesopotamia. Nisibis besieged	
	231 Severus Alexander departs Rome for the east (spring)		
		232 Severus Alexander campaigns unsuccessfully against Ardashir	232 Origen is exiled from Alexandria, and moves to Caesarea c. 232 Birth of Porphyry

- 234 Maximinus Thrax proclaimed emperor by Pannonian soldiers
- 235 Death of Severus Alexander and his mother, Julia Mamaea, near Mainz, after a mutiny (18/19 March). Maximinus Thrax confirmed as emperor by the senate
- 236 Maximinus declares his son, Maximus, Caesar and deifies his own wife
- 238 Gordian I and his son, Gordian II, declared emperors in Africa. Their claim is recognized by the senate, but they are defeated and killed near Carthage by the legate of Numidia. The senate elects Pupienus and Balbinus emperors (late April/early May). Upon their murder by the praetorians, Gordian III is proclaimed emperor (August)
- 235 Maximinus campaigns successfully against the Alamanni
- 236–7 Campaigns against the Sarmatians and Dacians
- 238 Maximinus besieges Aquileia. He is murdered, along with his son (early June). The Goths and Dacian Carpi attack across the Danube
- 238–41 M. Tullius Menophilus governor of Moesia Inferior. He negotiates successfully with the Goths and Carpi (240)
- 240 Rebellion at Carthage under Sabinianus crushed
- 241 Timesitheus appointed praetorian prefect
- 235–8 The Persians overrun Mesopotamia
- 236 Capture of Nisibis and Carrhae
- c. 240–5 The Achilles sarcophagus
- 241 Shapur I succeeds his father Ardashir on the Persian throne. He launches an offensive upon Mesopotamia
- 242 A campaign against the Persians is inaugurated, under Timesitheus and Gordian (spring). Gordian winters in Antioch
- 242 Mani begins preaching his new religion

(cont.)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
		243 Roman successes against the Persians. Timesitheus falls ill and dies	
244 Philip the Arabian acknowledged as emperor (early March)	244–6 and 248–53 Goths, Carpi and their allies invade Moesia and the Balkans	244 Shapur I defeats Romans. Gordian III dies, possibly of wounds. His successor, Philip the Arabian, makes peace with the Persians and departs for Rome	
247 Philip, the emperor's son (Caesar 244) is declared Augustus (August)			247–8 Dionysius bishop of Alexandria
	248 Millenary celebrations at Rome (21 April). Decius pacifies Moesia and Pannonia		248 Origen's <i>Contra Celsum</i> . Cyprian becomes bishop of Carthage
249 Trajanus Decius is declared emperor by his troops (June)	249 Philip is killed in battle with Decius near Verona (September)	249 Usurpation of Jotapian in Syria and/or Cappadocia	late 249 Persecution of Christians
	250 Etruscus campaigns against the Goths in Illyricum	250 Attempted usurpation of Titus Julius Priscus	c. 250 Birth of Iamblichus
	250 or 251 Usurpation of Valens at Rome		
251 Decius names his two sons, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus (Caesars 250) Augusti (May). Hostilianus proclaimed emperor with Trebonianus Gallus (May/June). Hostilianus dies soon afterwards. Gallus' son, Volusianus, proclaimed Augustus	251 Defeat and death of Decius and Herennius Etruscus on the Danube at the hands of the Goths under Cniva (May)		mid-third century: sporadic recurrence of plague throughout the empire
	252 Goths and others invade the Danubian provinces	252 Tiridates III is deposed by the Persians in Armenia. Under Shapur, they then attack Mesopotamia	c. 254 Death of Origen

253 Aemilianus is proclaimed emperor on the Danube, but is murdered some four months later by his troops near Spoletium. In the meantime, Valerian is proclaimed emperor by the Rhine legions. The senate recognize his claim, and make his son, Gallienus, Augustus

254 Marcommani in Pannonia. They raid Ravenna. Alamanni in Raetia and Gaul. Gallienus marches against them

256 Gallienus in Cologne. He establishes a mint

258 Death of Valerian II on campaign in Illyricum. The usurpation of Ingenuus in Moesia and Pannonia is crushed by Gallienus

259 Alamanni invade Illyricum and Gaul, and Iuthungi invade Italy

253 First Gothic sea-borne expedition to Asia Minor. Shapur invades Syria, capturing Doura and Antioch. Usurpation of Uranius Antoninus, who repulses the Persians

254 Shapur captures Nisibis. Goths in Thrace. Valerian departs for the east, liberates Antioch and recaptures Doura. Usurpation of Uranius Antoninus ends

255 The Borani take Pityus and Trapezus. Valerian reaches Antioch. Second Gothic sea-borne expedition to Asia Minor

258 Odenathus of Palmyra receives consular honours

257 Renewed persecution of Christians. Cyprian of Carthage exiled to Curubis

258 Martyrdoms of Cyprian and Sixtus II, bishop of Rome

259 Dionysius I, bishop of Rome

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
260 Macrianus and Quietus declared emperors	260 The Alamanni are repulsed by Gallienus, who then opens a mint at Milan. Simplicinius Genialis, governor of Raetia, is victorious over the Iuthungi. Usurpations of Postumus in Gaul, and of Regalianus on the Danube 260–7 Gallienus campaigning in Illyricum, with only brief returns to Rome	260 Valerian is defeated at Edessa by Shapur and captured. The Persians make further inroads into the eastern provinces	260 Gallienus ends persecution of the Christians (The 'Little Peace')
261 Macrianus killed in battle against Aureolus in Illyricum. Quietus executed at Emesa by Odenathus (November)		261 Odenathus of Palmyra recognised as <i>dux</i> and <i>corrector totius Orientis</i> . Usurpation of Valens in Macedonia. He is later killed by his own troops. Usurpation of Mussius Aemilianus, prefect of Egypt, ended the following year	
	262 Gallienus in Rome (briefly) to celebrate his <i>decennalia</i> (summer)	262 Odenathus successful against the Persians. He attempts to capture Ctesiphon. Goths in Asia Minor	262 Plague reaches Italy and Africa. Dedication of the arch of Gallienus at Rome
	264 Postumus celebrates his <i>quinquennalia</i> in Gaul (July?)		
	265 Gallienus campaigns unsuccessfully against Postumus	266 Odenathus makes a second attempt upon Ctesiphon. Goths make another maritime raid on Asia Minor 266 or 267 Arrest and execution of Odenathus. His wife, Zenobia, secures power in the name of their infant son, Vaballathus	265 or 266 Gallienus is initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries at Athens

267 *Quindecennalia* of Gallienus

268 Murder of Gallienus at the siege of Milan (September). He is succeeded by Claudius II, who puts down the revolt of Aureolus

270 Claudius II dies at Sirmium, a victim of the plague (January). The senate choose his brother, Quintillus, as emperor, but he reigns only 77 days. Aurelian declares himself in Sirmium

267 Gallienus victorious in battle at Naïssus. Aureolus throws in his lot with Postumus, and is attacked at Milan by Gallienus

268 Alamanni invade northern Italy, but are defeated by Claudius II

269 Claudius is victorious over the Goths at Naïssus, and receives the title *Gothicus Maximus*. Postumus celebrates his *decennalia*, but is assassinated shortly afterwards (May or June). He is succeeded first by Marius, then by Victorinus

271 Victorinus takes Autun. Aurelian campaigns against the Iuthungi in Raetia and Noricum, the Vandals and Sarmatians in Pannonia. New incursions into Italy by the Alamanni and Iuthungi. Aurelian's victories at Fano and Ticinum deliver Italy. Assassination of Victorinus at Cologne. Tetricus is declared emperor in Gaul. Evacuation of Dacia and creation of a new province, Dacia Ripensis

267 Gothic invasion of Greece, the Balkans and the Aegean. Sack of Athens

268 Goths attack Macedonia

269 Zenobia extends her kingdom

270 Palmyrene troops enter Alexandria. Zenobia annexes Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor

271 Vaballathus, the son of Zenobia, is declared Augustus

268 Paul of Samosata is declared a heretic by a synod at Antioch

270 Death of Plotinus

271 Construction of a new defensive wall around Rome begun

(cont.)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
	272 or 273 Tetricus elevates his son Tetricus	272 Aurelian moves against the Palmyrenes. He reconquers Asia Minor and Egypt. He is victorious in Syria, at Daphne and Emessa. Zenobia is captured. Death of Shapur I, who is succeeded by Hormizd I	
	274 Aurelian campaigns in Gaul. Tetricus submits. Aurelian celebrates a triumph at Rome	273 Revolt of Palmyra is ruthlessly suppressed. Hormizd I dies, and is succeeded by Vahran I	274 Inauguration of Aurelian's temple of the Sun God and creation of a priesthood to administer it. Coinage reform
275 Murder of Aurelian (late September/early October). After a brief interregnum, Tacitus is declared emperor by the senate, with the support of the army (late November/early December)	275 Alamanni invade Gaul		
276 Tacitus is murdered and replaced by Florianus, who is recognized by the senate (June/July). Simultaneously, the eastern legions declare Probus emperor. Shortly afterwards, Florianus is assassinated by his troops in Tarsus (August)		276 Probus campaigns against the Goths in Anatolia, then winters in Sirmium. Death of Vahran I, succeeded by Vahran II	
	277–8 Probus recovers Gaul		
	278 Battles against Vandals and Burgundians in Raetia		

- 282 Murder of Probus near Sirmium (September–October). The soldiers acclaim Carus emperor
- 283 Death of Carus near Ctesiphon (July/August). He is succeeded by Carinus in the west and Numerian in the east (Caesars 282)
- 284 Assassination of Numerian in Thrace at the instigation of his praetorian prefect, Aper (early November). He is succeeded by Diocles (20 November), who executes Aper and takes the name of Diocletian
- 285 Battle of the Margus between Diocletian and Carinus (April or May). Carinus is defeated, and subsequently killed by his own troops
- 280 Usurpation of Bonosus and Proculus
- 281 Probus celebrates a triumph in Rome, and winters there
- 282 Carus campaigns against the Sarmatians and the Quadi
- 283 Carinus campaigns against the Germans in Gaul
- 279 Suppression of Isaurian rebellion in Asia Minor. Siege of Cremna. Campaign against the Blemmyes in Egypt
- 280 Frankish piracy in the Mediterranean, including a raid on Syracuse
- 281 Usurpation of Saturninus. He is murdered by his own soldiers at Apamea
- 283 Carus and Numerian take the offensive against Vahran II in Mesopotamia. Capture of Ctesiphon and Seleucis on the Tigris. Numerian winters in Syria
- 283 The *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus

(cont.)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
286 Maximian (Caesar 285) declared Augustus (1 March or 1 April)	286 Carausius declares himself Augustus in Britain (autumn)	286 Diocletian winters at Nicomedia, then summers in Palestine 287 Diocletian makes an agreement with Vahran II in Syria, and restores Tiridates III as ruler of Armenia	
	288 or 289 Conference between Diocletian and Maximian, possibly on the frontier of Raetia 289 Diocletian campaigns against the Sarmatians. Maximian defeated by Carausius		
	Dec. 290 or Jan. 291 Conference in Milan between Diocletian and Maximian	290 Diocletian campaigns against the Saraceni	
293 Constantius Chlorus and Galerius appointed Caesars in the west and east respectively (1 March). The first tetrarchy	293 Constantius captures Boulogne from Carausius. Carausius is killed by his minister Allectus, who continues to hold Britain	293 Death of Vahran II. Succeeded first by Vahran III, and then Narses I 293 or 294 Galerius suppresses a revolt in Upper Egypt	293 Introduction of diocesan organization c. 294 Coinage reform (or before 293) 295 Edict on Marriages (1 May)
	296 Constantius recovers Britain from Allectus. Diocletian defeats the Quadi on the Danube, and campaigns against the Carpi (summer/autumn)	296 Narses invades Armenia	
	297 Maximian combats a rebellion in Africa	297 Narses defeats Galerius near Carrhae (spring). Revolt in Egypt under L. Domitius Domitianus and Achilleus	c. 297 Purge of Christians in the army

- 305 Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian (1 May). Constantius and Galerius succeed them, and appoint Severus and Maximian Daia Caesars. The second tetrarchy
- 306 Death of Constantius at York (25 July). Constantine proclaimed emperor of the west by Constantius' soldiers
- 307 Constantine marries Fausta. He is recognized as Augustus by Maximian. Death of Severus
- 308 Conference at Carnuntum (11 November). Maximian is forced to retire a second time, and Licinius is invested as Augustus
- 298 Galerius captures Ctesiphon. Diocletian suppresses the revolt in Egypt. He besieges and captures Alexandria
- 299 Peace treaty with Persia
- 302 Death of Narses, succeeded by Hormizd II
- 303 Diocletian and Maximian celebrate their *vicennalia* at Rome (20 November). Galerius campaigns against the Carpi on the Danube
- 306 Maxentius acclaimed as princeps by the praetorians, and enlists the support of his father, Maximian
- 307 Maxentius and Maximian ally with Constantine. Galerius invades Italy, but subsequently withdraws to Pannonia (autumn). Severus marches on Rome. He is forced to retreat by Maxentius and Maximian, and abdicates in Ravenna (spring)
- 308 Domitius Alexander rebels against Maxentius in Africa, but is suppressed the following year
- 301 Currency reform (before September). Diocletian's Prices Edict (December)
- 302 Rescript against the Manichaeans
- 303 Great Persecution of the Christians begins (23 February)
- 304 Death of Pope Marcellinus
- 307 First issue of the *solidus*
- 309 Death of Hormizd II
- 309 Maximian's edict concerning the rebuilding of temples in Palestine

(cont.)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
310 Death of Maximian after a revolt in Gaul. Maximin declared Augustus by his troops			310 Pamphilus executed c. 310 Lactantius becomes tutor to Crispus
311 Death of Galerius			311 Galerius' Edict of Tolerance (30 April). Persecution resumed by Maximin, and Peter of Alexandria martyred (November). Miltiades bishop of Rome
311 or 312 Death of Diocletian			312 Maximin's rescript expelling Christians from the cities
	312 Constantine is victorious over Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (28 October)		
313 Marriage of Licinius to Constantia, Constantine's sister (February). Maximin commits suicide at Tarsus (c. July)		313 Licinius defeats Maximin near Adrianople (30 April)	313 Edict of freedom of religious belief issued jointly by Licinius and Constantine ('Edict of Milan'). Council in Rome condemns Donatists
	314 Constantine campaigns in Germany (autumn)		314 Council of Arles finds against Donatists. Verona List compiled. Introduction of the <i>chrysargyron</i>
	315 Constantine celebrates his <i>decennalia</i> at Rome		315 Arch of Constantine
	316 Battle of Cibalae between Constantine and Licinius (8 October), followed by reconciliation		
317 Crispus, younger Constantine and younger Licinius declared Caesars (1 March)			

324 Constantine elevates Helena and Fausta to the rank of Augusta. Constantius declared Caesar	324 Constantine defeats Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis (18 September). Licinius is banished to Salonica. Foundation of the city of Constantinople (8 November)	321 Constantine abrogates responsibility for the Donatist controversy
326 Deaths of Crispus, Fausta and the younger Licinius c. 327 Death of Helena	326 Constantine's <i>vicennalia</i> celebrated in Rome	325 Council of Nicaea
333 Constans declared Caesar (25 December)	332 Constantine campaigns against the Goths	326 Holy pilgrimage of Helena
335 Dalmatius declared Caesar	334 Constantine campaigns against the Sarmatians	330 Dedication of the city of Constantinople (11 May)
337 Death of Constantine (22 May)	336 Constantine celebrates his <i>tricennalia</i> in Constantinople (25 July)	335 Dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Council of Tyre. First exile of Athanasius 336 Council of Constantinople. Exile of Marcellus of Ancyra

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

PAPYROLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of papyrological publications which are not included in the following list may be found in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraka*, 4th edn. Atlanta, 1992, or the web edition: John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, Sarah J. Clackson, Alexandra A. O'Brien, Joshua D. Sosin, Terry G. Wilfong, and Klaas A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>, Month, 200#.

AARC	<i>Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana</i>
AAntHung	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AArchHung	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
Annales (ESC)	<i>Annales (Économies, sociétés, civilisation)</i>
Annales (HSS)	<i>Annales (Histoire, Sciences sociales)</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AntAfr	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i>
ARS	A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton and F. C. Bourne, <i>Ancient Roman Statutes</i> . Austin, TX, 1961
ASR	<i>Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs</i> , ed. C. Robert, Berlin, 1890–
AT	<i>L'Antiquité Tardive</i>
Aur. Vict. <i>Caes.</i>	Aurelius Victor, <i>De Caesaribus</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BAR Suppl. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

<i>BEO</i>	<i>Bulletin des Études Orientales</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen/Staatlichen Museum zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.</i> Berlin, 1895–
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BIDR</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum.</i> v (Pertinax to Elagabalus). H. Mattingly, London, 1950; vi (Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus). R. A. G. Carson, London, 1962
<i>BRGK</i>	<i>Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique</i>
<i>BSNAF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Bull. Ép.</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique in Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History:</i> vol. x ² (1996), xi ² (2000), xii ¹ (1939), xiii (1998); xiv (2000)
<i>Cahiers Glotz</i>	<i>Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CEFR</i>	<i>Collection de l'École française de Rome</i>
<i>Chron. Min. I</i>	T. Mommsen, <i>Chronica Minora I</i> (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 9). Berlin, 1892
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIMRM</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , ed. M. J. Vermaseren, The Hague, 1956–60
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>CLRE</i>	R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz and K. A. Worp, <i>Consuls of the Later Roman Empire</i> (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36). Atlanta, 1987
<i>Coll.</i>	<i>Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio</i> (in <i>FIRA</i> II.544–89)
<i>Cons.</i>	<i>Consultatio Veteris cuiusdam Iurisconsulti</i> (in <i>FIRA</i> II.594–613)
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>Digest</i>
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
<i>Diz. Ep.</i>	E. de Ruggiero et al., <i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane.</i> Rome, 1886–
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>

<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i> , ed. M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1961–
<i>ES</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>ESAR</i>	<i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> , ed. T. Frank: I, <i>Rome and Italy of the Republic</i> ; II, <i>Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian</i> ; III, <i>Roman Britain, Roman Spain, Roman Sicily, La Gaule Romaine</i> ; IV, <i>Roman Africa, Roman Syria, Roman Greece, Roman Asia</i> ; V, <i>Rome and Italy of the Empire</i> . Baltimore, 1933–40
<i>Eus. Hist. Eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Eus. Vit. Const.</i>	Eusebius, <i>De Vita Constantini</i>
<i>Eutr.</i>	Eutropius
<i>Expositio</i>	<i>Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium</i> , ed. J. Rougé, SC 124. Paris, 1967
<i>FD III</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , III, <i>Épigraphie</i> . Paris, 1909–85
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. K. Müller. Paris, 1878–85
<i>FIRA</i>	S. Riccobono <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusianiani</i> , 2nd edn, 3 vols. [I, <i>Leges</i> ; II, <i>Auctores</i> ; III, <i>Negotia</i>]. Florence, 1940–3
<i>FV</i>	<i>Fragmenta Vaticana</i> (in <i>FIRA</i> II.464–540)
<i>GCN</i>	M. E. Smallwood, <i>Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero</i> . Cambridge, 1967
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte</i>
<i>GLP</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> , vol. I (= <i>Select Papyri</i> III) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA and London, 1942
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>H.</i>	The Hatran Inscriptions: see Part v, ch. 16 n. 39
<i>HAC¹</i>	<i>Historia Augusta Colloquia</i> , original series. Bonn, 1964–91
<i>HAC²</i>	<i>Historia Augusta Colloquia</i> , new series. Macerata, 1991, thereafter Bari, 1994–
<i>HAW</i>	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Herod.</i>	Herodian
<i>HLL</i>	<i>Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
<i>IAM</i>	M. Euzennat, J. Marion and J. Gascou, <i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> II. Paris, 1982
<i>I. Aryk.</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda</i> (IGSK 48). Bonn, 1994
<i>ICret</i>	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , 4 vols. Rome, 1935–50
<i>I. Cyme</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> , ed. H. Engelmann (IGSK 5). Bonn, 1976
<i>I. Eph.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (IGSK II–17). 8 vols. in 10. Bonn, 1979–84
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>

- IGBulg* G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vols. in 6. Sofia, 1958–97
- IGF* J.-CL. Decourt. *Inscriptions grecques de la France (IGF)*. Lyons, 2004
- IGLS* *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*
- IGRR* R. Cagnat et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, 3 vols. (1, 3, 4). Paris, 1906–27
- IGSK* Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
- IL Afr* R. Cagnat, A. Merlin and L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique (Tripolitane, Tunisie et Maroc)*. Paris, 1923
- ILM* L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions Latines du Maroc*. Paris, 1942
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
- IME* *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte*, ed. E. Bernand. Paris, 1969
- IMS* F. Papazoglou et al., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*. Belgrade: I (Singidunum and NW area, 1976); II (Viminacium and Margum, 1986); III.2 (Timacum Minus and Timok valley, 1995); IV (Naissus–Remesiana–Horreum Margi, 1979); VI (Scupi and Kumanovo region, 1982)
- InscrIt* *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome, 1931–
- Inv. Pal.* Cantineau, J. et al., *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*. 12 fascicules: I–IX (J. Cantineau), Beirut; X (J. Starcky), Damascus; XI (J. Teixidor), Beirut; XII (A. Bounni and J. Teixidor), Damascus. (1930–75)
- IRT* J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome, 1952
- I. Smyrn.* G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (IGSK 23, 24), 2 vols. in 3. Bonn, 1982–90
- It. Ant.* *Itineraria Antonini Augusti* (O. Cuntz, ed., *Itineraria Romana* 1. Stuttgart, 1929 (repr. 1990))
- JBAA* *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
- JAC* *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JJP* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JRA* *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRGZM* *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JS* *Journal des Savants*
- JSAS* *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*
- JThS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Knopf-Krüger R. Knopf, and G. Krüger, *Ausgewählte Martyrakten*, 4. Aufl. Tübingen, 1965

Lact. <i>DMP</i>	Lactantius, <i>De Mortibus Persecutorum</i>
<i>LoisRom</i>	<i>Les Lois des Romains: 7^e édition par un groupe de romanistes des 'Textes de droit romain' tome II de Paul Frédéric Girard et Félix Senn</i> , ed. V. Giuffrè (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza della Università di Camerino 12). Naples, 1977
<i>LSCG</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 18). Paris, 1969
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MAL</i>	<i>Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> . 10 vols. Manchester, then London, 1928–93
<i>MBAH</i>	<i>Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte</i>
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité</i>
<i>MPER</i> n.s.	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien. New Series, 1932–
Münch.Beitr.	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NDIEC</i>	G. H. R. Horsley, R. A. Kearsley, and S. R. Llewelyn, <i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> : I (1981); II (1982); III (1983); IV (1987); V (1989); VI (1992); VII (1994), North Ryde, NSW; VIII (1998), Grand Rapids, MI
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>OCD</i> ³	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, 3rd edn. Oxford, 1996
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>OR</i>	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
<i>Origo</i>	<i>Origo Constantini</i> , ed. I. König. Trier, 1987
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PACT</i>	<i>Physical, Chemical and Mathematical Techniques applied to Archaeology</i>
<i>PAES</i>	E. Littmann <i>et al.</i> , <i>Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria</i> . III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions. A, Southern Syria (Leiden, 1904–21); B, Northern Syria (Leiden, 1908–22); IV: Semitic Inscriptions (Leiden, 1914–49)
<i>Pan. Lat.</i>	<i>Panegyrici Latini</i> (cited in the numeration of Mynors' Oxford Classical Text (1964) and Nixon and Rodgers, <i>Panegyrici</i>)
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>P. Cairo Isid.</i>	A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, <i>The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo and the University of Michigan</i> . Ann Arbor, 1960
<i>P. Col.</i> 123	see Westermann and Schiller, <i>Apokrimata</i>

PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PE	Diocletian's <i>Prices Edict</i> (see Giacchero, <i>Edictum Diocletiani</i>)
PECS	R. Stillwell <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> . Princeton, 1976
<i>P. Euphr.</i>	see Feissel and Gascou, 'Documents'; plus <i>JS</i> (1995) 61–118; <i>JS</i> (1997) 3–57; <i>JS</i> (2000) 157–208; <i>CRAI</i> (1990) 144–66; <i>Semitica</i> 41–2 (1991–2): 195–208
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>P. Giss.</i>	O. Eger <i>et al.</i> , <i>Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen</i> . Leipzig–Berlin, 1910–12
<i>P. Giss. Lit.</i>	<i>Die Giessener literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse</i> , ed. P. A. Kuhlmann (Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek und dem Universitätsarchiv Giessen 46). Giessen, 1994
PGM	K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2nd edn. Stuttgart, 1973–74
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, R. Morris and R. Martindale, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vols. Cambridge, 1971–92
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	B. P. Grenfell <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London, 1898–
<i>P. Panop. Beatty</i>	T. C. Skeat, <i>Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin</i> . Dublin, 1964
RAC	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
RLAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RAL	<i>Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RBPh	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes</i>
REAug	<i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes</i>
REByz	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
RES	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> , vol. v, ed. G. Ryckmans. Paris, 1929
RFIC	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
RGDS	<i>Res Gestae Divi Saporis</i> (see also <i>ŠKZ</i>)
RHDFE	<i>Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger</i>
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , vol. 1, 1965, rev. edn 1995
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . v.1 (Valerian I to Florian), P. H. Webb, London, 1927; v.2 (Probus to Amandus), P. H. Webb, London, 1933; vi (Diocletian's reform to Maximinus), C. H. Sutherland

	and R. A. G. Carson, London, 1967; vii (Constantine and Licinius), P. Bruun, London, 1966
<i>RICH</i>	A. S. Robertson, <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet</i> , University of Glasgow. iii (Pertinax to Aemilian) Oxford, 1977; iv (Valerian to Allectus) Oxford, 1978
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>RPC I</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. P. Ripollès, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , Vol. 1: <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius</i> (44 B.C.–A.D. 69). London and Paris, 1992
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes</i>
<i>RS I</i>	<i>Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophag</i> e, 1: <i>Rom und Ostia</i> , eds. F. Deichmann, G. Bovini and H. Brandenburg. Wiesbaden, 1967
<i>RS II</i>	<i>Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophag</i> e, II: <i>Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt</i> , eds. T. Ulbert and J. Dresken-Weiland. Mainz, 1998
<i>RSA</i>	<i>Rivista Storica dell'Antichità</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i>
<i>SBAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali</i>
<i>SDHI</i>	<i>Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SHA</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>SIG³</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn, 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24
<i>ŠKZ</i>	<i>Šabuhri I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt = Res Gestae Divi Saporis</i> (see Huyse, <i>ŠKZ</i> ; Sprengling, <i>Iran</i>)
<i>SÖAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)
<i>Soc.</i>	Socrates Scholasticus
<i>Soz.</i>	Sozomen
<i>StAmst</i>	<i>Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia</i>
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> . Vienna, 1901–
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TAVO</i>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i>
<i>TIR</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> ; for individual maps, see details in Bibliography Part III
<i>Tit. Ulp.</i>	<i>Tituli ex Corpore Ulpiani</i> = Ulpian's <i>Regulae</i> (<i>FIRA</i> II.262–301)
<i>TR</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis</i> (<i>Revue d'Histoire du Droit</i>)
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Trierer Zeitschrift</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>

ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
Zon.	Zonaras
Zos.	Zosimus
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung</i>

FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

- L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain. L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain: Ier siècle av. J.-C.–IVe siècle ap. J.-C.: actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, sous le patronage de l'Institut national d'archéologie et d'art de Tunis (Rome, 3–5 décembre 1987)* (CEFR 134; 1990). Rome
- Alföldy, Kriszta. Alföldy, G. (1989) *Die Krise des römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung: ausgewählte Beiträge* (Heidelberg: althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 5). Stuttgart
- Armées et fiscalité. Armées et fiscalité dans le Monde antique (Paris, 14–16 octobre 1976)* (Centre national de la recherche scientifique de France: Colloques nationaux 936; 1977). Paris
- Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*. Arnheim, M. T. W. (1972) *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Late Roman Empire*. Oxford
- Bagnall, *Currency*. Bagnall, R. S. (1985) *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*. (BASP Suppl. 5). Atlanta
- Bagnall, *Egypt*. Bagnall, R. S. (1993) *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ
- Bagnall and Frier, *Demography*. Bagnall, R. S. and Frier, B. W. (1994) *The Demography of Roman Egypt*. Cambridge
- Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas*. Bagnall, R. S. and Worp, K. A. (1979) *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 2). Atlanta
- Barnes, *CE*. Barnes, T. D. (1981) *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA and London
- Barnes, *Early Christianity*. Barnes, T. D. (1984) *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire* (Variorum Reprints). London
- Barnes, 'Emperors'. Barnes, T. D. (1996) 'Emperors, panegyrics, prefects, provinces and palaces', *JRA* 9: 532–52
- Barnes, *Eusebius to Augustine*. Barnes, T. D. (1994) *From Eusebius to Augustine: Selected Papers 1982–1993* (Collected Studies Series 438). Aldershot
- Barnes, *NE*. Barnes, T. D. (1982) *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA and London
- Barnes, *Tertullian*. Barnes, T. D. (1971) *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*. Oxford (rev. edn Oxford, 1985)
- van Berchem, *L'Armée*. Berchem, D. van (1952) *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme Constantinienne* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, BAH 56). Paris
- Birley, *The African Emperor*. Birley, A. R. (1988) *The African Emperor: Septimius Severus*. London (revised version of Birley, *Septimius Severus* (repr. with additional bibl. as *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*. London, 1999))

- Birley, *Septimius Severus*. Birley, A. R. (1971) *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*. London (later revised as Birley, *The African Emperor*)
- de Blois, *Gallienus*. Blois, L. de (1976) *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society 7). Leiden
- Bowersock, *Arabia*. Bowersock, G. (1983) *Roman Arabia*. Cambridge, MA
- Bowman, *Town Councils*. Bowman, A. K. (1971) *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 11). Toronto
- Brunt, *RIT*. Brunt, P. A. (1990) *Roman Imperial Themes*. Oxford
- Callu, *Politique monétaire*. Callu, J.-P. (1969) *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*. Paris
- Cameron, *LRE*. Cameron, Averil (1993) *The Later Roman Empire AD 284–430*. London
- Camilli and Sorda, *L' 'inflazione'*. Camilli, L. and Sorda, S. (eds.) (1993) *L' 'inflazione' nel quarto secolo d. C. Atti dell'incontro di studio (Roma, 1988)* (Studi e materiali 3). Rome
- Campbell, *ERA*. Campbell, J. B. (1984) *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC–AD 235*. Oxford
- Carrié, 'Fiscalité'. Carrié, J.-M. (1994) 'Dioclétien et la fiscalité', *AT* 2: 33–64
- Carrié and Rousselle, *L'Empire romain*. Carrié, J.-M. and Rousselle, A. (1999) *L'Empire romain en mutation des Sévères à Constantin 192–337* (Nouvelle Histoire de l'Antiquité 10). Paris
- Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine*. Chastagnol, A. (1960) *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*. Paris
- Chastagnol, *Aspects*. Chastagnol, A. (1994) *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive* (Saggi di storia antica 6). Rome
- Corcoran, *ET*. Corcoran, S. J. J. (1996) *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government AD 284–324*. Oxford (rev. edn with additional notes, Oxford, 2000)
- Crawford, *L'impero romano*. Crawford, M. H. (ed.) (1986) *L'impero romano e le strutture economiche e sociali delle province* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 4). Como
- Dagron, *Naissance*. Dagron, G. (1984) *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine, études 7). Rev. edn Paris (1st edn 1974)
- Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*. Delmaire, R. (1989) *Largesses sacrées et res privata: L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (CEFR 121). Rome
- Demandt, *Spätantike*. Demandt, A. (1989) *Die Spätantike: römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.* (HAW III.6). Munich
- Demougeot, *FEIB* 1. Demougeot, E. (1969) *La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares*, 1: *Des origines germaniques à l'avènement de Dioclétien*. Paris
- Dentzer and Orthmann, *Syrie*. Dentzer, J.-M. and Orthmann, W. (eds.) (1989) *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie*, 11: *La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam* (Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie 1). Saarbrücken
- Dévaluations* 1. *Les dévaluations à Rome: Époque tardo-républicaine et impériale* (Rome, 13–15 novembre 1975) (CEFR 37; 1978). Rome

- Dévaluations II. Les dévaluations à Rome: Époque tardo-républicaine et impériale* (Gdansk, 19–21 octobre 1978) (CEFR 37; 1980). Rome
- Dietz, *Senatus*. Dietz, K. (1980) *Senatus contra principem. Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Opposition gegen Kaiser Maximinus Thrax* (Vestigia 29). Munich
- Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*. Dodgeon, M. H. and Lieu, S. N. C. (1991) *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars A.D. 226–363: A Documentary History*. London and New York
- Duncan-Jones, *ERE*. Duncan-Jones, R. P. (1982) *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, 2nd edn. Cambridge
- Duncan-Jones, *Money*. Duncan-Jones, R. P. (1994) *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge
- Duncan-Jones, *Structure*. Duncan-Jones, R. P. (1990) *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*. Cambridge
- Économie antique I*. Andreau, J., Briant, P. and Descat, R. (eds.) (1994) *Économie antique. Les échanges dans l'Antiquité: Le rôle de l'État* (Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 1). Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges
- Économie antique II*. Andreau, J., Briant, P. and Descat, R. (eds.) (1997) *Économie antique. Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 3). Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges
- Économie antique III*. Andreau, J., Briant, P. and Descat, R. (eds.) (2000) *Économie antique. La guerre dans les économies antiques* (Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 5). Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges
- Epigrafia della produzione. Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione: actes de la VII^e rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Rome, 5–6 juin 1992* (CEFR 193; 1994). Rome
- Feissel and Gascou, 'Documents'. Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (1989) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate', *CRAI* 1989: 535–61 = *P. Euphr.*
- Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE*. Freeman, P. and Kennedy, D. (eds.) (1986) *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (BAR Int. Ser. 297), 2 vols. Oxford
- Frere, *Britannia*. Frere, S. (1987) *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 3rd edn. London
- Frye, *Iran*. Frye, R. N. (1984) *The History of Ancient Iran* (HAW III.7). Munich
- Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani*. Giacchero, M. (1974), *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, 2 vols. Genoa
- Giardina, *Società romana*. Giardina, A. (ed.) (1986) *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, 4 vols. I: *Istituzioni, ceti, economie*; II: *Roma: politica, economia, paesaggio urbano*; III: *Le merci, gli insediamenti*; IV: *Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura*. Rome and Bari
- Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia Dignitatum*. Goodburn, R. and Bartholomew, P. (1976) *Aspects of the 'Notitia Dignitatum'* (BAR Suppl. Ser. 15). Oxford
- Halfmann, *Itinera Principum*. Halfmann, H. (1986) *Itinera Principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2). Stuttgart
- Hauken, *Petition and Response*. Hauken, T. (1998) *Petition and Response: An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181–249* (Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 2). Bergen

- Herrmann, *Hilferufe*. Herrmann, P. (1990) *Hilferufe aus römischen Provinzen. Ein Aspekt der Krise des römischen Reiches im 3. Jhdt n. Chr.* Hamburg
- Herzog, *HLL* 5. Herzog, R. (ed.) (1989) *Restauration und Erneuerung: die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.* (Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike 5 = HAW VIII.5). Munich (French trans.: *Restauration et renouveau*. Turnhout, 1993)
- Honoré, *Ec&L*. Honoré, T. (1994) *Emperors and Lawyers*, 2nd edn. Oxford (1st edn London, 1981)
- Honoré, *Ulpian*^{1, 2}. Honoré, T. (1982) *Ulpian*, 1st edn. Oxford (completely revised as *Ulpian: Pioneer of Human Rights*, 2nd edn Oxford, 2002)
- Humbach and Skjaervø, *Paikuli*. Humbach, H. and Skjaervø, P. O. (1978–83) *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 3 vols. in 4. I: Supplement to Herzfeld's Paikuli; II: Synoptic tables; III.1: Restored text and translation; III.2: Commentary. Wiesbaden
- Huyse, *ŠKZ*. Huyse, P. (1999) *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhš I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III.1.1), 2 vols. London
- Isaac, *Limits of Empire*. Isaac, B. (1992) *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*, rev. edn. Oxford (1st edn Oxford, 1990)
- L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien. L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien: Actes du colloque international, Rome, 25–28 mars 1992* (CEFR 198; 1994). Rome
- Johnson, *Saxon Shore*. Johnson, S. (1979) *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore*, 2nd edn. London
- Johnson, *LRF*. Johnson, S. (1983) *Late Roman Fortifications*. London
- Jones, *LRE*. Jones, A. H. M. (1964) *The Later Roman Empire. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols. Oxford (repr. in 2 vols. with continuous pagination, Oxford, 1973)
- Jones, *Roman Economy*. Jones, A. H. M. (1974) *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt. Oxford
- Kettenhofen, *RPK*. Kettenhofen, E. (1982) *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāhpūhrš I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ)* (Beihefte zum TAVO, B 55). Wiesbaden
- King, *Imperial Revenue*. King, C. E. (ed.) (1980) *Imperial Revenue, Expenditure and Monetary Policy in the Fourth Century A.D.* The Fifth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History (BAR Int. Ser. 76). Oxford
- King and Henig, *Roman West*. King, A. and Henig, M. (eds.) (1981) *The Roman West in the Third Century: Contributions from Archaeology and History* (BAR Int. Ser. 109), 2 vols. Oxford
- King and Wigg, *Coin Finds*. King, C. E. and Wigg, D. W. (eds.) (1996) *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World: The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History (25–27. 3. 1993)* (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 10). Berlin
- Kolb, *Diocletian*. Kolb, F. (1987) *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft?* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 27). Berlin and New York

- Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*. Lane Fox, R. (1986) *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century A.D. to the Conversion of Constantine*. Harmondsworth
- Lewis, *Life in Egypt*. Lewis, N. (1983) *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*. Oxford
- Limes Congress VI*. Schönberger, H. (ed.) (1967) *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms: Vorträge des 6. Internationalen Limeskongresses in Süddeutschland* [1964] (BJ 19). Cologne and Graz
- Limes Congress VII*. Applebaum, S. (ed.) (1970) *Roman Frontier Studies. The Proceedings of the 7th International Congress, Tel Aviv 1967*. Tel Aviv
- Limes Congress VIII*. Birley, E. B., Dobson, B. and Jarrett, M. (eds.) (1974) *Roman Frontier Studies. 8th International Congress of Limesforschung, Cardiff 1969*. Cardiff
- Limes Congress IX*. Pippidi, D. M. (ed.) (1974) *Actes du IX^e congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines. Mamaia, 1972*. Cologne, Vienna and Bucharest
- Limes Congress XIII*. Hanson, W. S. and Keppie, L. J. F. (eds.) (1980) *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: Papers Presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (BAR Int. Ser. 71). Oxford
- Limes Congress XV*. Maxfield, V. and Dobson, M. J. (eds.) (1991) *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XV International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Exeter
- L'or monnayé I*. *L'or monnayé 1: Purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 2; 1985). Paris: 80–III
- L'or monnayé II*. Callu, J.-P. and Lorient, X. (eds.) (1990) *L'or monnayé II: La dispersion des aurei en Gaule romaine sous l'Empire* (Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 3; 1990). Juan-les-Pins
- L'or monnayé III*. Brenot, C. and Lorient, X. (eds.) (1992) *L'or monnayé III: Trouvailles de monnaies d'or dans l'Occident romain: Actes de la Table Ronde tenue à Paris les 4 et 5 décembre 1987* (Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 4; 1992). Paris
- Luttwak, *Grand Strategy*. Luttwak, E. N. (1976) *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*. Baltimore and London
- MacMullen, *Response*. MacMullen, R. (1976) *Roman Government's Response to Crisis, A.D. 235–337*. New Haven and London
- MacMullen, *Corruption*. MacMullen, R. (1988) *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*. New Haven
- Millar, *ERW*. Millar, F. G. B. (1977) *The Emperor in the Roman World 31 B.C.–A.D. 337*. London (rev. edn with afterword, London, 1992)
- Millar, *Near East*. Millar, F. G. B. (1993) *The Roman Near East 31 B.C.–A.D. 337*. Cambridge, MA and London
- Mitchell, *AFRBA*. Mitchell, S. (ed.) (1983) *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia* (BAR Int. Ser. 156). Oxford
- Mitchell, *Anatolia*. Mitchell, S. (1993) *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. Oxford
- Mitchell, 'Maximinus'. Mitchell, S. (1988) 'Maximinus and the Christians in AD 312: a new Latin inscription', *JRS* 78: 105–24

- Nixon and Rodgers, *Panegyrici*. Nixon, C. E. V. and Rodgers, B. S. (1994) *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini, Introduction, Translation and Historical Commentary* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 21). Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford
- Pasqualini, *Massimiano*. Pasqualini, A. (1979) *Massimiano 'Herculius'. Per un' interpretazione della figura e dell'opera* (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la storia antica 30). Rome
- Peachin, *Titulature*. Peachin, M. (1990) *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284* (StAmst 29). Amsterdam
- Pflaum, *Carrières*. Pflaum, H. G. (1960–1) *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth. BAH 57), 3 vols. Paris
- Pflaum, *Carrières Suppl.* Pflaum, H. G. (1982) *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain. Supplement* (BAH 112). Paris
- Potter, *Prophecy*. Potter, D. S. (1990) *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle*. Oxford
- Le ravitaillement. Le ravitaillement en blé de Rome et des centres urbains des débuts de la République jusqu'au Haut Empire* (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 11 = CEFR 196; 1994). Naples and Rome
- Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*. Reynolds, J. M. (1982) *Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias* (JRS Monographs 1). London
- Robert, *Hellenica*. Robert, L. (with Robert, J.) (1940–65), *Hellenica*, vols. I–XIII. Paris and Limoges
- Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*. Rostovtzeff, M. I. (1957) *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd edn. Oxford
- Rouché, *ALA*. Rouché, C. (1989) *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (JRS Monographs 5). London
- Rythmes de la production monétaire*. Depeyrot, G., Hackens, T. and Moucharte, G. (eds.) (1987) *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l'antiquité à nos jours: Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris du 10 au 12 janvier 1986* (Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain 50 = Numismatica Lovaniensia 7). Louvain
- Sallmann, *HLL* 4. Sallmann, K. (ed.) (1997) *Die Literatur des Umbruchs von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur 117 bis 284 n. Chr.* (Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike 4 = HAW VIII.4). Munich, 1997 (French trans.: *L'âge de transition*. Turnhout, 2000)
- Schiavone, *Storia di Roma* II.2. Schiavone A. (ed.) (1991) *Storia di Roma* II.2: *L'Impero mediterraneo: i principi e il mondo*. Turin
- Schiavone, *Storia di Roma* II.3. Schiavone A. (ed.) (1992) *Storia di Roma* II.3: *L'Impero mediterraneo: la cultura e l'impero*. Turin
- Schiavone, *Storia di Roma* III.1. Schiavone A. (ed.) (1993) *Storia di Roma* III.1: *L'età tardoantica: crisi e trasformazione*. Turin
- Seston, *Dioclétien*. Seston, W. (1946) *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*. I: *Guerres et réformes* (284–300) (BEFAR 172). Paris
- Sprengling, *Iran*. Sprengling, M. (1953) *Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir*. Chicago

- Syme, *E&B*. Syme, R. (1971) *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta*. Oxford
- L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire. L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C.–III siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Actes du Colloque International (Rome, 8–12 mai 1985) (CEFR 98; 1987). Rome
- Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*. Westermann, W. L. and Schiller, A. A. (1954) *Apokrimata: Decisions of Septimius Severus on Legal Matters*. New York (= *P. Col.* 123)
- Whittaker, *Frontiers*. Whittaker, C. R. (1994) *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study*. Baltimore and London
- Whittaker, *Herodian*. Whittaker, C. R. (ed.) (1969–70) *Herodian* (Loeb Classical Library), 2 vols. Cambridge, MA and London
- Wieacker, *Rechtsgeschichte*. Wieacker, F. (1988) *Römische Rechtsgeschichte: Quellenkunde, Rechtsbildung, Jurisprudenz und Rechtsliteratur 1. Einleitung, Quellenkunde, Frühzeit und Republik* (Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums 3.1.1 = HAW x.3.1.1). Munich
- Williams, *Diocletian*. Williams, S. (1985) *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. London
- Wolfram, *Goths*. Wolfram, H. (1988) *History of the Goths* (trans. T. J. Dunlap). Berkeley, CA
- Yarshater, *CHI* III. E. Yarshater (ed.) (1983) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. III: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, 2 parts. Cambridge

BIBLIOGRAPHY PART I: NARRATIVE (CHS. 1–4)

- The Age of Diocletian: A Symposium, December 14–16, 1951* (1953). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Alföldi, A. (1939a) 'The invasions of peoples from the Rhine to the Black Sea', *CAH* XII¹: 138–164 (repr. in Alföldi (1967))
- Alföldi, A. (1939b) 'The crisis of the empire (A.D. 249–270)', *CAH* XII¹: 165–231 (repr. in Alföldi (1967))
- Alföldi, A. (1939c) 'The sources for the Gothic invasions of the years 260–270', *CAH* XII¹: 721–3
- Alföldi, A. (1967) *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*. Darmstadt
- Alföldi, A. (1979) 'Redeunt Saturnia regna VII', *Chiron* 9: 553–606
- Alföldy, G. (1966a) 'Barbareneinfälle und religiöse Krisen in Italien', *HAC*¹ 1964–5: 1–19
- Alföldy, G. (1966b) 'Ein bellum sarmaticum und ein ludus sarmaticus in der Historia Augusta', *HAC*¹ 1964–5: 21–34
- Alföldy, G. (1968) 'Septimius Severus und der Senat', *BJ* 168: 112–60
- Alföldy, G. (1972) 'Der Sturz des Kaisers Geta und die antike Geschichtsschreibung', *HAC*¹ 1970: 19–51
- Alföldy, G. (1973) 'Der heilige Cyprian und die Krise des römischen Reiches', *Historia* 22: 479–501

- Veyne, P. (1980) 'L'Empire romain', in M. Duverger (ed.), *Le concept d'empire* (Paris) 121–30
- Veyne, P. (1981) 'Clientèle et corruption au service de l'État: la vénalité des offices dans le Bas-Empire romain', *Annales (ESC)* 1981: 339–60
- Veyne, P. (1991) *La société romaine*. Paris (Italian trans. *La società romana*. Rome and Bari, 1990)
- Vita-Évrard, G. Di (1985) 'Note sur quelques timbres d'amphores de Tripolitaine', in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. IIe colloque international (Grenoble, 5–9 avril 1983)* (Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, n.s. 19b) (Paris) 147–59
- Wagner, G. (1987) *Les Oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine, d'après les documents grecs* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 100). Cairo
- Walker, D. R. (1978) *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage, III: From Pertinax to Uranius Antoninus* (BAR Suppl. Ser. 40). Oxford
- Walker, D. R. (1988) 'The Roman coins', in B. Cunliffe, *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, vol. 11: *The Finds from the Sacred Spring* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monographs 16) (Oxford) 281–358
- Wallace, S. L. (1938) *Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology 2). Princeton
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1981) 'Galba's Aequitas', *NC* 141: 20–39
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1986) 'Image and authority in the coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 76: 66–87
- Wallerstein, I. M. (1974–89) *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. New York and London
- Whittaker, C. R. (1993) *Land, City and Trade in the Roman Empire*. Aldershot
- Wild, J. P. (1976) 'The gynaecea', in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia Dignitatum* 51–8
- Wipszycka, E. (1965) *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (Archiwum Filologiczne 9). Wrocław, Warsaw and Cracow
- Woolf, G. (1990) 'World-systems analysis and the Roman empire', *JRA* 3: 44–58
- Ying-shih, Y. (1986) 'Han foreign relations', in D. Twitchett and M. Loewe (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China, 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C. – A.D. 220*. Cambridge
- Yon, J.-B. (1998) 'Remarques sur une famille caravanière à Palmyre', *Syria* 75: 153–60
- Youtie, H. C. (1979) 'P. Mich. inv. 341: A price of wealth', *ZPE* 36: 77–81 (repr. in *Scriptiunculae Posteriores II* (Bonn, 1982) 569–73)

PART V: THE NON-ROMAN WORLD (CHS. 13–16)

- Adontz, N. (1970) *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System*. tr. N. G. Garsoïan. Lisbon
- Aggoula, B. (1981) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) VI', *Syria* 58: 363–78
- Aggoula, B. (1983) 'Hatra et Rome, une mise au point', in F. Steppat (ed.) *XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 24. bis 29. März 1980 in Berlin: Vorträge* (ZDMG Suppl. 5, Wiesbaden): 212–19

- Aggoula, B. (1983a) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) VII', *Aula Orientalis* 1: 31–8
- Aggoula, B. (1983b) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) VIII', *Syria* 60: 101–5
- Aggoula, B. (1983c) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) IX', *Syria* 60: 251–7
- Aggoula, B. (1985) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (X)', *Syria* 62: 281–5
- Aggoula, B. (1986) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) XII', *Syria* 63: 353–74
- Aggoula, B. (1987) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) XI', *Syria* 64: 91–106
- Aggoula, B. (1990) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) XVI–XIX', *Syria* 67: 397–421
- Aggoula, B. (1991) *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes* (BAH 139). Paris
- Aggoula, B. (1994) 'Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes (RIH) XX–XXIII', *Syria* 71: 397–408
- Akopyan, H. P. (1984) 'Ancient Armenia in east–west relations (early centuries of our era)', *SA* 1984.2: 70–90 (in Russian with English summary)
- Al-Ansari, A. R. (1982) *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia*. [Riyadh]
- Al-Nagafi, H. M. (1983) 'The inscriptions of Hatra', *Sumer* 39: 175–99 (in Arabic)
- Alföldi, A. (1937) 'Die Hauptereignisse der Jahre 253–261 n. Chr. im Orient im Spiegel der Münzprägung', *Berytus* 4: 41–68
- Alföldi, A. (1938) 'Die römische Münzprägung und die historischer Ereignisse im Osten zwischen 260 und 270 n. Chr.', *Berytus* 5: 47–92 (repr. in *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jh. nach Christus* (Darmstadt, 1967) 155–209)
- Altheim, F. and Stiehl, R. (1965a) 'Die Araber an der oströmisch-persischer Grenze im 4. Jahrhundert', in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. II (Berlin) 312–79
- Altheim, F. and Stiehl, R. (1965b) 'Odainat und Palmyra', in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. II (Berlin) 251–73
- Altheim, F. and Stiehl, R. (1965c) 'Shapur II und die Araber', in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. II (Berlin) 344–56
- Altheim, F. and Stiehl, R. (1972) 'Beduinisierung', in *Antike und Universalgeschichte: Festschrift Hans Erich Stier zum 70. Geburtstag am 25. Mai 1972* (Fontes et Commentationes Suppl. 1) (Münster) 294–301
- Ament, H. (1984) 'Der Rhein und die Ethnogenese der Germanen', *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 59: 37–47
- Antiâ, E. K. (1900) *Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr Pâpakân: The original Pahlavi text, with transliteration in Avesta characters, translations into English and Gujarati and selections from the Shâhnâmeh*. Bombay
- Arakelian, B. N. (1984a) 'Archaeological excavations in Soviet Armenia', *JSAS* 1: 3–21
- Arakelian, B. N. (1984b) 'Les fouilles d'Artaxata: bilan provisoire', *REArm* n.s. 18: 367–95
- Arce, J. (1982) 'The inscription of Troesmis (*ILS* 774) and the first victories of Constantius as Caesar', *ZPE* 48: 245–9

- Arce, J. (1984) 'Constantius II Sarmaticus and Persicus: a reply', 57: 225–7
- Back, M. (1978) *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften: Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften* (Acta Iranica 3rd ser. 8). Leiden
- Bakker, L. (1993) 'Raetien unter Postumus – Das Siegesdenkmal einer Juthungenschlacht im Jahre 260 n. Chr. aus Augsburg', *Germania* 71: 369–86
- Baldini, A. (1975) 'Il ruolo di Paolo di Samosata nella politica culturale di Zenobia e la decisione di Aureliano ad Antiochia', *RSA* 5: 59–78
- Baldini, A. (1976) 'Problemi di storia palmirena: note sulla politica di Odenato', *Corso di Cultura ed Arte Ravennate e Bizantini* 23: 21–45
- Baldus, R. (1971) *Uranus Antoninus: Münzprägung und Geschichte*. Bonn (with review by A. Chastagnol, *Syria* 51 (1974) 208–14)
- Banning, E. B. (1986) 'Peasants, pastoralists and *pax romana*: mutualism in the southern highlands of Jordan', *BASOR* 261: 25–50
- Barnes, T. D. (1973) 'More missing names (AD 260–395)', *Phoenix* 27: 135–55
- Barnes, T. D. (1983) 'Two victory titles of Constantius', *ZPE* 52: 229–35
- Barnes, T. D. (1985) 'Constantine and the Christians of Persia', *JRS* 75: 126–36
- Bauzou, T. (1996) 'La *praetensio* de Bostra à Dumata (El-Jowf)', *Syria* 73: 23–35
- Beaucamp, J. (1979) 'Rawwafa', *Dictionnaire de la Bible Suppl.* 9, col. 1467–75
- Becker, M. (1993) 'Die römischen Fundstücke aus dem germanischen Fürstengrab der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit bei Gommern, Ldkr. Burg', *Germania* 71: 405–17
- Beeston, A. (1979) 'Nemara and Faw', *BSOAS* 42: 1–6
- Beyer, K. (1998) *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien*. Göttingen
- Bierbrauer, V. (1994) 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1–7 Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Bilanz', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28: 51–171
- Birley, A. R. (1987) *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*, 2nd edn. London (1st edn. 1966)
- Blois, L. de (1975) 'Odaenathus and the Roman–Persian war of 252–264 A.D.', *Talanta* 6: 7–23
- Böhme, H.-W. (1975) 'Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege (166–180 n. Chr.)', *JRGZM* 22: 155–217
- Bosworth, C. W. (1983) 'Iran and the Arabs before Islam', in Yarshater, *CHI* III.1: 593–612
- Bowersock, G. W. (1976) 'The Greek–Nabataean bilingual inscription at Ruwafa, Saudi Arabia', *Le Monde Grec: Mélanges Claire Préaux* (Brussels) 513–22
- Branden, A. van den (1966) *Histoire de Thamoud* (Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Section des Études Historiques 6), 2nd edn. Beirut
- Braun, O. (1915) *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer mit einem Anhang: ostsyrisches Mönchsleben* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 22). Kempten
- Braund, D. (1991) 'New "Latin" inscriptions in central Asia: legio XV Apollinaris and Mithras?', *ZPE* 89: 188–90
- Bulliet, R. (1975) *The Camel and the Wheel*. Cambridge, MA (repr. with new preface, New York and Oxford, 1990)
- Bursche, A. (1994) 'Die Markomannenkriege und der Zufluss römischer Münzen in das Barbaricum', in H. Friesinger, J. Tejral and A. Stupper (eds.),

- Markomannenkriege- Ursachen und Wirkungen* (VI Internationales Symposium 'Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonauegebiet', Wien 23–6 November 1993) (Spisy Archeologického ústavu av cr Brno 1). Brno
- Bursche, A. (1996) *Later Roman–Barbarian Contacts in Central Europe* (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 11). Berlin
- Campbell, D. B. (1986) 'What happened at Hatra? The problems of the Severan siege operations', in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* 1: 51–8
- Cantineau, J. *et al.* (1930–75) *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*. 12 fascicles: 1–9 (J. Cantineau) Beirut; 10 (J. Starcky) Damascus; 11 (J. Teixidor) Beirut; 12 (A. Bounni and J. Teixidor) Damascus
- Cantineau, J. (1933) 'Tadmorea', *Syria* 14: 169–202
- Cantineau, J. (1934–5) 'Nabatéen et Arabe', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de l'Université d'Alger* 1: 77–97
- Cantineau, J. (1936) 'Tadmorea', *Syria* 17: 267–82 and 346–55
- Cantineau, J. (1938) 'Tadmorea', *Syria* 19: 72–82 and 153–71
- Caquot, A. (1962) 'Sur l'onomastique religieuse de Palmyre', *Syria* 39: 231–56
- Carnap-Bornheim, C. von (ed.) (1994) *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn, 20. bis 24. Februar 1994* (Veröffentlichung des vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg 8). Lublin and Marburg
- Casey, J. (1994) *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers*. London
- Caskel, W. (1966) *Gamharat an-Nasab: das genealogische Werk des Hisham ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi*. Leiden
- Caskel, W. (1954) 'The bedouinization of Arabia', in G. E. von Grünebaum (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Cultural History* (American Anthropological Association Memoir 76) (Menasha, WI) 36–46
- Caskel, W. (1969) 'Die Inschrift von En-Nemara neu gesehen', *MUSJ* 45: 367–79
- Chad, C. (1966) *Les dynastes d'Emèse*. Beirut
- Charanis, P. (1959) 'Ethnic changes in the Byzantine empire in the seventh century', *DOP* 13: 23–44
- Chaumont, M.-L. (1969) *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des Sassanides à la conversion de royaume*. Paris
- Chaumont, M.-L. (1973) 'Conquêtes sassanides et propagande mazdéenne (III siècle)', *Historia* 22: 664–709
- Chaumont, M.-L. (1976) 'L'Arménie entre Rome et l'Iran I: de l'avènement d'Auguste à l'avènement de Dioclétien', *ANRW* 11.9.1: 71–194
- Chaumont, M.-L. (1979) 'À propos de la chute de Hatra et du couronnement de Shapur Ier', *AAntHung* 27: 207–37
- Christensen, A. (1944) *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd edn. Copenhagen
- Christlein, R. (1978) *Die Alamannen*. Stuttgart
- Colledge, M. A. R. (1976) *The Art of Palmyra*. London
- Crow, J. (1986) 'A review of the physical remains of the frontiers of Cappadocia', in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* 1: 77–91

- Dentzer, J.-M. (ed.) (1985) *Hauran I: Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (BAH 124). Paris
- Dentzer, J.-M. and Villeneuve, F. (1985) 'Les villages de la Syrie romaine dans une tradition d'urbanisme oriental', in J.-L. Huot, M. Yon and Y. Calvet (eds.), *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris) 213–48
- Der Nersessian, S. (1973) 'Armenia and its divided history', *Byzantine and Armenian Studies* 1: 291–308
- De Vries, B. (1986) 'Umm El-Jimal in the first three centuries A.D.', in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* 1: 227–41
- De Vries, B. (ed.) (1998) *Umm el-Jimal: A Frontier Town and its Landscape in Northern Jordan* (JRA Suppl. 26). Portsmouth, RI
- Dieck, A. (1965) *Die europäischen Moorleichenfunde* (Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 5). Neumünster
- Dillemann, L. (1962) *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents: Contribution à la géographie historique de la région, du Ve siècle avant l'ère chrétienne au VIe siècle de cette ère* (BAH 72). Paris
- Dowsett, C. J. F. (1961) *Movsēs Dasxuranci: History of the Caucasian Albanians* (London Oriental Series 8). London
- Drijvers, H. J. W. (1966) *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 6). Assen
- Drijvers, H. J. W. (1972a) *Old Syriac (Edesean) Inscriptions*. Leiden
- Drijvers, H. J. W. (1972b) 'The cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa', *Mélanges Geo Widengren* 1 (Leiden) 355–71
- Drijvers, H. J. W. (1977) 'Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa', *ANRW* 11.8: 799–906
- Drijvers, H. J. W. (1982) 'A tomb for the life of a king: a recently discovered Edessene mosaic with a portrait of King Abgar the Great', *Le Muséon* 95: 167–89
- Dunant, C. (1971) *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre. III: Les Inscriptions* (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana x.3). Rome
- Dussaud, R. (1955) *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*. Paris
- Duval, R. (1892) *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade*. Paris (repr. from *Journal Asiatique*⁸ 18 (1891): 87–133, 201–78, 381–439, and 19 (1892): 5–102)
- Eadie, J. W. (1967) *The Breviarium of Festus*. London
- Emines, J.-B. (1872) 'Faustus de Byzance', *FHG* v.2 (Paris) 205–310
- Engelhardt, C. (1869) *Vimose fundet* (Fynske mosefund 2). Copenhagen
- Ensslin, W. (1936) 'Zu dem vermuteten Perserfeldzug des rex Hannibalianus', *Klio* 29: 106–9
- Equini Schneider, E. (1993) *Septimia Zenobia Sebaste* (Studia Archaeologica 61). Rome
- Erzen, A. (1984) *Eastern Anatolia and Urartians* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari xx.8). Ankara
- Es, W. A. van (1967) *Wijster: A Native Village Beyond the Imperial Frontier* (Palaeohistoria 11). Gröningen
- Es, W. A. van, Miedema, M. and Wynia, S. L. (1985) 'Eine Siedlung der römischen Kaiserzeit in Bennekom, Prov. Gelderland', *Berichten van den Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 35: 533–652

- Esbroeck, M. van (1971) 'Un nouveau témoin du livre d'Agathange', *REArm* n.s. 8: 13–96
- Even-Ari, M., Shanan, L. and Tadmor, N. (1982) *The Negev: Challenge of a Desert*, 2nd edn. Cambridge, MA
- Fahd, T. (ed.) (1989) *L'Arabie pré-islamique et son environnement historique et culturel: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 24–27 juin 1987* (Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques 10). Leiden
- Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (1995) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.). I: les pétitions (*P. Euphr.* 1 à 5)', *JS* 1995: 65–119
- Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (2000) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.). III: Actes divers et lettres (*P. Euphr.* 11 à 17)', *JS* 2000: 157–208
- Feissel, D., Gascou, J. and Teixidor, J. (1997) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.). II: *P. Euphr.* 6 à 10', *JS* 1997: 3–57
- Frye, R. N. (1964) 'The charisma of kingship', *IA* 4: 36–54
- Gagé, J. (1964) *La montée des Sassanides et l'heure de Palmyre*. Paris
- Garitte, G. (1946) *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Studi e Testi 127). Vatican City
- Garsoïan, N. G. (1967) 'Politique ou orthodoxie? L'Arménie au quatrième siècle', *REArm* n.s. 4: 297–320 (repr. Garsoïan (1985) ch. 4)
- Garsoïan, N. G. (1971) 'Armenia in the fourth century: an attempt to re-define the concepts "Armenia" and "loyalty"', *REArm* n.s. 8: 341–52 (repr. Garsoïan (1985) ch. 3)
- Garsoïan, N. G. (1976) 'Prologomena to a study of the Iranian aspects in Arsacid Armenia', *Handès Amsoreay* 90: cols. 177–234 (repr. Garsoïan (1985) ch. 10)
- Garsoïan, N. G. (1981) 'The locus of the death of kings: Iranian Armenia – the inverted image', in R. G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian Image in History and Literature*. Malibu, CA: 27–64 (repr. Garsoïan (1985) ch. 11)
- Garsoïan, N. G. (1985) *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*. London
- Gawlikowski, M. (1974) 'Le Tadmoréen', *Syria* 51: 91–103
- Gawlikowski, M. (1975) 'Recueil d'inscriptions palmyréniennes provenant de fouilles syriennes et polonaises récentes à Palmyre', *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 16: 261–377
- Gawlikowski, M. (1984) *Palmyre VIII: Les Principia de Dioclétien, 'Temple des Enseignes'*. Warsaw
- Gawlikowski, M. (1985) 'Les princes de Palmyre', *Syria* 62: 251–61
- Gawlikowski, M. (1998) 'The last kings of Edessa', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 256) (Rome) 421–8
- Gignoux, P. (1983) 'Middle Persian inscriptions', in Yarshater, *CHI* III.2: 1205–15
- Glob, P. V. (1969) *The Bog People*, tr. R. Bruce-Mitford. London (orig. Danish edn. 1966)
- Gnoli, T. (2000) *Roma, Edessa e Palmira nel III secolo d.C. Problemi istituzionali: Uno studio sui papiri dell'Euphrate* (Biblioteca di Mediterraneo Antico 1). Pisa
- Godlowski, K. (1970) *The Chronology of the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods in Central Europe*. Cracow

- Graf, D. F. (1978) 'The Saracens and the defence of the Arabian frontier', *BASOR* 22/9: 1–26
- Graf, D. F. and O'Connor, M. (1977) 'The origin of the term "Saracen" and the Rawwafa inscriptions', *Byzantine Studies* 4: 52–66
- Gulbekian, E. V. (1977) 'The conversion of King Trdat', *Le Muséon* 90: 51–4
- Haarnagel, W. (1979) *Feddersen Wierde: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung der vorgeschichtlichen Wurt Feddersen Wierde bei Bremerhaven in den Jahren 1955 bis 1963, Bd. 2: Die Grabung Feddersen Wierde: Methode, Hausbau, Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsformen sowie Sozialstruktur*. Wiesbaden
- Hachmann, R. (1970) *Die Goten und Skandinavien* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker n.s. 34). Berlin
- Hadidi, A. et al. (eds.) (1982–97) *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 6 vols. Amman: I (1982), II (1985), III (1987), IV (1992), V (1995), VI (1997)
- Halbertsma, H. (1963) *Terpen tussen Vlie en Eems: een geografisch-historische benadering*, 2 vols. Groningen
- Hammond, P. C. (1973) *The Nabataeans: Their History, Culture and Archaeology*. Göteborg
- Harding, G. L. (1953) 'The cairn of Hani', *ADAJ* 2: 8–56
- Harding, G. L. (1969) 'The Safaitic tribes', *Al-Abhath. Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*: 3–25
- Heather, P. (1991) *Goths and Romans 332–489*. Oxford
- Heather, P. (1996) *The Goths*. Oxford
- Hedeager, L. (1992) *Iron Age Societies: From Tribe to State in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*. Oxford
- Helm, R. (1984) *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik des Hieronymus (Hieronymi Chronicon) (GCS Eusebius VII)*, 3rd edn. Berlin
- Herzfeld, E. E. (1924) *Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire* (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst 3), 2 vols. Berlin
- Hewsen, R. H. (1978–9) 'The successors of Tiridates the Great: a contribution to the history of Armenia in the fourth century', *REArm* n.s. 13: 99–126
- Hewsen, R. H. (2001) *Armenia: A Historical Atlas*. Chicago
- Hillars, D. R. and Cussini, E. (1996) *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore and London
- Hoffmann, G. (1880) *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer; übers. und durch Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 7.3). Leipzig (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966)
- Honigsmann, E. (1953) 'Basileus of Amaseia (314, about 320 A.D.)', in *Patristic Studies* II (Studi e Testi 173) (Vatican City) 6–27
- Hvass, S. (1985) *Hodde: Et vestjysk landsbysamfund fra aeldre jernalder* (Arkaeologiske Studier 7). Copenhagen
- Ilkjaer, J. and Lønstrup, J. (1983) 'Der Moorfund im Tal der Illerup-Å bei Skanderborg im Ostjütland', *Germania* 61: 95–126
- Ingraham, M. L. (1981) 'Saudi Arabian Comprehensive Survey Program', *Atlat* 5: 59–84
- James, E. (1988) *The Franks*. Oxford
- Jankuhn, H. (1976) 'Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaftsordnung der germanischen Stämme in der Zeit der römischen Angriffskriege', *ANRW* II.5.1: 65–126

- Kenk, R. (1977) 'Studien zum Beginn der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit in der Przeworsk-Kultur', *BRGK* 58: 161–446
- Kettenhofen, E. (1982) *Vorderer Orient: Römer und Sasaniden in der Zeit der Reichkrise (224–284 n. Chr.)* (TAVO B V II). Wiesbaden
- Kettenhofen, E. (1984a) *Östlicher Mittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien: Die Neuordnung des Orients in diokletianisch-konstantinischer Zeit (284–337 n. Chr.)* (TAVO B VI I). Wiesbaden
- Kettenhofen, E. (1984b) 'Die Einforderung des Achamenidenerbes durch Ardasir. Eine *Interpretatio Romana*', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 15: 177–90
- Keydell, R. (1967) *De imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 2). Berlin
- Khalil Ibrahim, J. (1982) 'Two legal texts from Hatra', *Sumer* 38: 120–5 (in Arabic)
- Kolnik, T. (1978) 'Q. Atilius Primus – *interpres*, *centurio* und *negotiator*', *AArchHung* 30: 61–75
- Kouymjian, D. (1981) 'The classical tradition in Armenian art', *REArm* n.s. 15: 263–88
- Krause, W. and Jankuhn, H. (1966) *Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse³ 65). Göttingen
- Krüger, B. (ed.) (1986) *Die Germanen. Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa, vol. II: Die Stämme und Stammesverbände in der Zeit vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zur Herausbildung der politischen Vorherrschaft der Franken*, 2nd edn. Berlin
- Kunow, J. (1983) *Der römische Import in der Germania libera bis zu den Markomannkriegen*. Neumünster
- Künzl, E. (1993) *Die Alamannenbeute aus dem Rhein bei Neupotz*. Mainz
- Lang, D. M. (1970) *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization*. London (corrected edns. 1978 and 1980)
- Lang, D. M. (1983) 'Iran, Armenia and Georgia', in Yarshater, *CHI* III.1: 505–36
- Langlois, V. (1867–9) *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols. (2nd edn. Paris, 1880; repr. Lisbon, 2001)
- Laser, R. (1980) *Die römischen und frühbyzantinischen Fundmünzen auf dem Gebiet der DDR* (Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 28). Berlin
- Lieu, S. N. C. (1986) 'Captives, refugees and exiles: a study of cross-frontier civilian movements and contacts between Rome and Persia from Valerian to Jovian' in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* II: 475–505
- Lightfoot, C. S. (1983) 'The site of Roman Bezabde', in Mitchell, *AFRBA*: 189–204
- Lightfoot, C. S. (1986) 'Tilli – a late Roman *equites* fort on the Tigris?', in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* II: 509–29
- Lind, L. (1988) *Romerska denarer funna i Sverige*. Stockholm
- Lindner, M. (1980) *Petra und das Königsreich der Nabatäer*, 3rd edn. Munich
- Lindner, M. (1987) *Petra: Neue Entdeckungen und Forschungen*. Munich
- Littmann, E. and Meredith, D. (1953) 'Nabataean inscriptions from Egypt', *BSOAS* 15: 1–29
- Littmann, E. and Meredith, D. (1954) 'Nabataean inscriptions from Egypt', *BSOAS* 16: 211–46

- Loriot, X. (1975) 'Les premières années de la grande crise du III^e siècle: de l'avènement de Maximin le Thrace (235) à la mort de Gordien III (244)', *ANRW* II.2: 657–787
- Lozachmeur, H. (ed.) (1995) *Présence arabe dans le croissant fertile avant l'Hégire. Actes de la Table ronde internationale . . . Études sémitiques, au Collège de France, le 13 novembre 1993*. Paris
- Lund Hansen, U. (1987) *Römischer Import im Norden: Warenaustausch zwischen dem römischen Reich und dem freien Germanien während der Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nordeuropas* (Nordiske Fortidsminder 110). Copenhagen
- MacDermott, B. (1970) 'The conversion of Armenia in 294 A.D.', *REArm* n.s. 7: 281–359
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (1992a) 'Herodian echoes in the Syrian desert', in S. Bourke, J.-P. Descoudres and A. Walmsley (eds.), *Trade, Contact and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of J. B. Hennessy* (Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 2). Sydney
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (1992b) 'North Arabian epigraphic notes I', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 3: 23–43
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (1992c) 'The seasons and transhumance in the Safaitic inscriptions', *JRAS* 2: 1–11
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (1993) 'Nomads and the Hauran in the late hellenistic and Roman periods: a reassessment of the epigraphic evidence', *Syria* 70: 303–413
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (2000) 'Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11: 28–79
- Mahé, J.-P. (1996) 'Loys hawat, "Foi lumineuse", du mazdeisme au christianisme arménien', in Santrot (ed.) (1996) 256–62
- Manandian, H. A. (1965) *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, tr. from 2nd edn by N. G. Garsoïan. Lisbon
- Maricq, A. (1955) 'Hatra de Sanatrouq', *Syria* 32: 273–88
- Maricq, A. (1957) 'Les dernières années de Hatra: l'alliance romaine', *Syria* 34: 288–96
- Maricq, A. (1958) 'Classica et Orientalia 5, Res Gestae Divi Saporis', *Syria* 35: 295–360 (repr. with revisions in *Classica et Orientalia extrait de Syrie 1955–62* (Paris, 1965) 257–301)
- Markwart, J. (1931) *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*. *Analecta Orientalia* 3, ed. G. Messina. Rome
- Mildenberger, G. (1978) *Germanische Burgen* (Veröffentlichungen der Altertumskommission im Provinzialinstitut für westfälische Landes- und Volksforschung, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe 6). Münster
- Milik, J. T. (1985) 'Épigraphie safaitique', in Dentzer (1985) 183–8
- Millar, F. G. B. (1971) 'Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the church, local culture and political allegiance in third-century Syria', *JRS* 61: 1–17
- Mitford, T. B. (1980) 'Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: historical setting of the limes', *ANRW* II.7.2: 1169–1228

- Mousheghian, K., Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G. and Gurnet, F. (2000) *History and Coin Finds in Armenia*, 4 vols. Wetteren (Collection Moneta 17–18, 20–1)
- Muselyan, X. A. (1983) *The Circulation of Money in Armenia, VIth Century B.C.–XIVth Century A.D.* Yerevan (in Armenian, with summaries in Russian and English)
- Nau, F. (1915–17) 'Résumé de monographies syriaques: v. Histoire de Jacques le reclus', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*. 2nd ser. 10: 3–12
- Negev, A. (1977) 'The Nabateans and the *Provincia Arabia*', *ANRW* 11.8: 520–686
- Nielsen, P. O., Randsborg, K. and Thrane, H. (eds.) (1994) *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg: Papers Presented at a Conference at Svendborg, October 1991* (Arkaeologiske Studier 10). Copenhagen
- Nöldeke, T. (tr.) (1879) *Tabarî, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*. Strasburg (repr. Leiden, 1973)
- Nylen, E. (1968) 'Die älteste Goldschmiedekunst der nordischen Eisenzeit und ihr Ursprung', *JRGZM* 15: 75–94
- Oates, D. (1968) *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*. London
- O'Connor, M. P. (1986) 'The etymology of Saracen in Aramaic and pre-Islamic Arabic contexts', in Freeman and Kennedy, *DRBE* 11: 603–32
- Ondrouch, V. (1957) *Bohaté hroby z doby rímskej na Slovensku: novšie nálezy* (Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae 1). Prague
- Oxtoby, W. G. (1968) *Some Inscriptions from the Safaitic Bedouin* (American Oriental Series 50). New Haven
- Palmyra and the Silk Road* (1996). Damascus
- Parker, S. T. (1986) *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier*. Philadelphia
- Peeters, P. (1931) 'L'intervention politique de Constance II dans la grande Arménie', *Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 5 ser. 17: 10–47 (repr. in *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* 1 (Subsidia Hagiographica 27; Brussels, 1951) 222–50)
- Périkhanian, A. (1971) 'L'inscription araméenne gravée sur une coupe d'argent trouvée a Sissian (Arménie)', *REArm* n.s. 8: 5–11
- Perin, P. (1987) *Les Francs I: À la conquête de la Gaule*. Paris
- Pflaum, H.-G. (1952) 'La fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie (259–260 à 274–275) d'après des inscriptions récemment découvertes', *Syria* 29: 307–330
- Pitts, L. F. (1987) 'Roman style buildings in Barbaricum (Moravia and SW Slovakia)', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 6: 219–36
- Pleiner, R. (1964) 'Die Eisenverhüttung in der Germania Magna zur römischen Kaiserzeit', *BRGK* 45: 11–86
- Poidebard, A. (1934) *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie: le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe*. Paris
- Poidebard, A. and Mouterde, R. (1945) *Le Limes de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe, documents aériens*. Paris
- Potter, D. (1995) 'Rome and Palmyra: Odaenathus' titulature and the use of the *imperium maius*', *ZPE* 113: 271–85

- Rabin, E. (1975) 'Dio, Herodian and Severus' Second Parthian War', *Chiron* 5: 419–41
- Raddatz, K. (1967) *Die Bewaffnung der Germanen in der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1967 no. 1 (pp. 1–17)). Göttingen
- Rebuffat, R. (1986) 'Le bouclier de Doura', in *Doura-Europos: Études 1986* (Institut français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, Publication hors série 16) (Paris) 85–105 (= *Syria* 63, 1986)
- Robin, C. (ed.) (1991) *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions* (Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée 61). Paris
- Rodinson, M. (1959) review of F. V. Winnett, *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan* (Toronto, 1957), *Arabica* 6: 214–20
- Rohmann, A. (1963) *Araben*. Munich
- Roncaglia, M. P. (1971) 'Les Arabes dans l'Antiquité classique', *Parole de l'Orient* 2: 175–96
- Roncaglia, M. P. (1972) 'Les Arabes dans l'Antiquité classique', *Parole de l'Orient* 3: 171–8
- Roncaglia, M. P. (1974) 'Les Arabes dans l'Antiquité classique', *Parole de l'Orient* 5: 201–10
- Roschinski, H. P. (1980) 'Sprachen, Schriften und Inschriften in Nordwestarabien', *BJ* 180: 155–88
- Ross, S. K. (2001) *Roman Edessa: Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire 114–242 C.E.* London
- Rothstein, G. (1899) *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira*. Berlin
- Rowton, M. B. (1973) 'Urban autonomy in a nomadic environment', *JNES* 32: 201–15
- Rowton, M. B. (1976) 'Dimorphic structure and topology', *Oriens Antiquus* 15: 17–31
- Rowton, M. B. (1977) 'Dimorphic structure and the parasocial element', *JNES* 36: 181–98
- Russell, J. R. (1987) *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard Iranian Series 5). Cambridge, MA
- Russell, J. R. (1990) 'Pre-Christian Armenian religion', *ANRW* II. 18.4: 2679–92
- Rybakov, B. A. (ed.) (1960) *Cernjachovskaya Kul'tura*. Moscow
- Ryckmans, J. (1986) 'Safaitique', *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. XI (Paris) col. 1–3
- Sachau, E. (1915) *Die Chronik von Arbela, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient* (Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 6). Berlin
- Safar, F. (1961) 'Inscriptions of Hatra (texts no. 79–105)', *Sumer* 17: 9–42 (in Arabic)
- Safar, F. (1973) 'The lords and kings of Hatra', *Sumer* 29: 87–98 (in Arabic)
- Safar, F. and Mustafa, M. A. (1974) *Hatra: The City of the Sun God*. Baghdad (in Arabic, numerous illustrations)
- Sahinian, A. (1969) 'Nouveaux matériaux concernant l'architecture des constructions antiques de Garni', *REArm* n.s. 6: 181–200
- Santrot, J. (ed.) (1996) *Arménie: Tresors de l'Arménie ancienne*. Paris and Nantes

- Sartre, M. (1981) 'La frontière méridionale de l'Arabie romaine', in *La géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet (Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 1979)* (Leiden) 77–92
- Sartre, M. (1982) *Trois Études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine*. Brussels
- Sartre, M. (1985a) *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam* (BAH 117). Paris
- Sartre, M. (1985b) 'Le peuplement et le développement du Hawran antique à la lumière des inscriptions grecques et latines', in Dentzer (1985) 189–202
- Sartre, M. (1987) 'Villes et villages du Hauran (Syrie) du I^{er} au IV^e siècle', in E. Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines* (Contributions et Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire Romaine 4) (Strasbourg) 239–57
- Sartre, M. (2000) 'Syria and Arabia', in *CAH* XI²: 635–63
- Sartre, M. (2001) *D'Alexandre à Zénobie: Histoire du Levant antique, IV^e siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.* Paris
- Sartre-Fauriat, A. (1997) 'Palmyre de la mort de Commode à Nicée (192–325)', in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Empire romain de la mort de Commode à Nicée (192–325 après J.-C.)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine) 251–78
- Schlumberger, D. (1942–1943a) 'L'inscription d'Hérodién: remarques sur l'histoire des princes de Palmyre', *BEO* 9: 35–50
- Schlumberger, D. (1942–1943b) 'Les gentilices romains des Palmyréniens', *BEO* 9: 52–82
- Schlumberger, D. (1951) *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*. Paris
- Schlumberger, D. (1962) 'Le prétendu camp de Dioclétien à Palmyre', *MUSJ* 38: 79–97
- Schlumberger, D. (1972) 'Worod l'agoranome', *Syria* 49: 339–42
- Schulz, W. (1953) *Leuna. Ein germanischer Bestattungsort der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1). Berlin
- Schulz, W. and Zahn, R. (1933) *Das Fürstengrab von Hassleben* (Römisch-germanische Forschungen 7). Berlin and Leipzig
- Schwartz, E. (1909) *Eusebius, Die Kirchengeschichte* (GCS Eusebius II). Leipzig
- Schwartz, J. (1957) 'Les Palmyréniens et l'Égypte', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 40: 63–81
- Schwartz, J. (1966) 'L'Histoire Auguste et Palmyre', *HAC*¹ 1964–5. (Bonn) 185–95
- Schwartz, J. (1977) 'Chronologie du III^e s. p. C.', *ZPE* 24: 174–6
- Segal, J. B. (1970) *Edessa, the Blessed City*. Oxford
- Segal, J. B. (1982) 'Aramaic legal texts from Hatra', *JJS* 1982: 109–15
- Seyrig, H. (1937) 'Note sur Hérodién, prince de Palmyre', *Syria* 18: 1–4 (= *Antiquités Syriennes* II.42–5)
- Seyrig, H. (1958) 'Uranus Antoninus: une question d'authenticité', *RN* 1958: 51–7 (repr. *Scripta Numismatica* (BAH 126; Paris, 1986) 471–7)
- Seyrig, H. (1959) 'Caractères de l'Histoire d'Emèse', *Syria* 36: 184–92 (= *Antiquités Syriennes* VI.64–72)
- Seyrig, H. (1963) 'Les fils du roi Odainat', *AAS* 13: 159–62 (repr. Seyrig (1985) 265–78)

- Seyrig, H. (1966) 'Vhabalatus Augustus', *Mélanges K. Michalowski* (Warsaw) 659–62 (repr. Seyrig (1985) 279–82)
- Seyrig, H. (1985) *Scripta Varia: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (BAH 125). Paris
- Shahid, I. (1983) *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs*. Dumbarton Oaks
- Shahid, I. (1984) *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*. Dumbarton Oaks
- Sinclair, T. A. (1987) *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. 1. London
- Sourdel, D. (1952) *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine* (BAH 53). Paris
- Spooner, B. (1972) 'The status of nomadism as a cultural phenomenon in the Middle East', *JAAS* 7: 122–30
- Starcky, J. (1966) 'Pétra et la Nabatène', *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. vii (Paris) col. 886–1017
- Starcky, J. (1975–6) 'Stèle d'Elahagabal', *MUSJ* 49: 503–20
- Starcky, J. (1985) 'Les inscriptions nabatéennes et l'histoire de la Syrie méridionale et du Nord de la Jordanie', in Dentzer (1985) 167–81
- Starcky, J. and Gawlikowski, M. (1986) *Palmyre*. Paris
- Stein, A. (1941) 'The ancient trade route past Hatra and its Roman posts', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1941: 299–316
- Stříbrný, K. (1989) 'Römer rechts des Rheins nach 260 n. Chr.', *BRGK* 70: 351–505
- Swain, S. (1993) 'Greek into Palmyrene: Odenathus as *Corrector Totius Orientis*', *ZPE* 99: 157–64
- Symonovic, E. A. (1983) 'Chernyakhovo culture and sites of the Kiev and Kolochin types', *SA* 1983/1: 91–102
- Teixidor, J. (1989) 'Les derniers rois d'Édesse d'après deux nouveaux documents syriaques', *ZPE* 76: 219–22
- Teixidor, J. (1990) 'Deux documents syriaques du III^e siècle après J.-C. provenant du Moyen Euphrate', *CRAI* 1990: 144–66
- Ter-Martirossov, F. I. (1996) 'Le temple de la forteresse de Garni', in Santrot (ed.) (1996) 190–1
- Thompson, E. A. (1965) *The Early Germans*. Oxford
- Thomson, R. W. (1976) *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians*. Albany, NY
- Thomson, R. W. (1978) *Moses Khorenats'i: History of the Armenians* (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4). Cambridge, MA
- Todd, M. (1987) *The Northern Barbarians, 100 BC–A.D. 300*, rev. edn. Oxford
- Toumanoff, C. (1959) 'Introduction to Christian Caucasian history: the formative centuries (IV–VIII)', *Traditio* 15: 1–106
- Toumanoff, C. (1963) *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*. Georgetown
- Toumanoff, C. (1969) 'The third-century Armenian Arsacids: a chronological and genealogical commentary', *REArm* n.s. 6: 233–81
- Toumanoff, C. (1970) 'Comptes rendus', *REArm* n.s. 7: 473–8
- Trimingham, J. S. (1979) *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*. London
- Van Den Berghe, P. L. (1987) *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. New York (orig. publ. 1981)

- Vattioni, F. (1981) *Le iscrizioni di Hatra* (Suppl. 28 to *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 41 fasc. 3). Naples
- Villeneuve, F. (1985) 'L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans le Hauran antique (Ier siècle avant J.C.–VIIe siècle après J.C.). Une approche', in Dentzer (1985) 63–136
- Volkman, H. (1968) 'Septimius Odaenathus', *RE Suppl.* 11: col. 1242–3
- Vööbus, A. (1960) *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East* vol. II (CSCO 197, Subsidia 17). Louvain
- Wagner, J. (1983) 'Provincia Osrohoenae: new archaeological finds illustrating organisation under the Severan dynasty', in Mitchell, *AFRBA*: 103–29
- Walker, J. (1958) 'The coins of Hatra', *NC* 18: 167–72
- Wenskus, R. (1961) *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*. Cologne
- Werner, J. (1941) *Die beiden Zierscheiben des Thorsberger Moorfundes: ein Beitrag zur frühgermanischen Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte* (Römisch-germanische Forschungen 16). Berlin
- Wielowiejski, J. (1975) 'Amber in Poland in the La Tène and Roman periods', *Studi e ricerche sulla problematica dell'ambra* (Rome) 73–91
- Wilkinson, P. D. (1982) 'A fresh look at the Ionic building at Garni', *REArm* n.s. 16: 721–44
- Will, E. (1966) 'Le sac de Palmyre', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol* (Paris) 1409–17
- Will, E. (1985) 'Plin l'Ancien et Palmyre: un problème d'histoire ou d'histoire littéraire?', *Syria* 62: 263–9
- Winkler, G. (1980) 'Our present knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its oriental versions', *REArm* n.s. 16: 125–41
- Winnett, F. V. (1957) *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan* (Near and Middle East Series 2). Toronto
- Winnett, F. V. and Harding, G. L. (1976) *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns* (Near and Middle East Series 9). Toronto
- Wolfram, H. and Daim, F. (1980) (eds.) *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert: Berichte des Symposiums der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 24. bis 27. Oktober 1978, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich* (Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. klasse 145). Vienna
- Zardarian, M. H. and Akopyan, H. P. (1994) 'Archaeological excavations of ancient monuments in Armenia 1985–1990', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 1.2: 169–95
- Zimansky, P. E. (1985) *Ecology and Empire: The Structure of the Urartian State* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 41). Chicago
- Zwettler, M. J. (1993) 'Imra'alqays, son of 'Amr, king of . . . ???', in M. Mir and J. E. Fossum (eds.), *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy* (Princeton) 3–37
- Zwettler, M. J. (2000) 'Ma'add in late-ancient Arabian epigraphy and other pre-Islamic sources', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 30: 223–308